Daily Report

East Europe

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CSSR-USSR Troop Withdrawal Talks Adjourn

LD1601165790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] The first round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on a Soviet troop withdrawal from our territory has ended in Prague. Preliminary discussion took place on political, military, international legal, financial, and other aspects of this problem. Our delegation submitted a draft of the agreement on the gradual withdrawal of Soviet troops, which contained specific dates and the draft for deciding the status of the troops before their withdrawal.

With regard to the fact that some issues require additional work, the two delegations agreed that the talks will be continued in the first week of February in Moscow, at the earliest. Ivan Aboimov, head of the Soviet delegation, was received today by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

45th CEMA Session Results Viewed

AU1401144790 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 11 Jan 90 p 5

[Vladimir Matejovsky commentary: "Forward, In the Direction of Reason!"]

[Text] So, quo vadis CEMA? A few days ago, many of our citizens gratefully accepted the subsequently refuted statement delivered by V. Klaus on the inevitability of the extinction of this organization. One should not be surprised. For many years, they had to put up with lies crashing down on them from all sides on this unique and flourishing organization, which is without parallel in the world. Everyone helps each other and no one exerts pressure on anyone else.

Reality, as everyone suspected, was absolutely different. Beneath the shiny surface were hidden facts over which reason came to a complete stop. To put it more precisely, reason evacuated its position and entrusted it to paper. Now in Sofia, reason has attempted to regain its lost position.

It is necessary to reform practically everything—the fundamental principles of CEMA operation (the demand for a new statute is one specific point contained in the final communique), the complicated, and in places, nonsensical method of accounting (the commission for currency and financial issues will meet in Prague next week), and the method of commercial exchange (a retreat from rigid planning toward market relations was approved in essence by everyone). As can be seen, everyone, at least verbally, realizes the necessity of reform.

However, differentiation is obvious. The radical reformers of state economies, among whom are ourselves, are demanding speed and depth. It is already impossible to pay with "transferable rubles" which have no significance. Moreover, prices in them are converted from national currencies with the aid of various exchange rates and coefficients which, if at some point they did have a realistic significance, this significance was lost long ago. The whole accounting system is reminiscent of a game of dominoes.

A balance of payments surplus with one country (for example, in our case with the USSR) is impossible to use anywhere else because it is nontransferable. It is impossible to amend mutual national currency rates since this opposes the treaty (something for which our tourists are also paying), and so on.

Our overwhelmingly most important trading partner is the USSR. It supplies us, first and foremost, with raw materials, and we supply it with machinery and consumer goods. Thus, it is unnecessary for us to emphasize how inconvenient the sudden transfer to world prices and accounting in freely convertible currencies is. For a long time we were inactive. When an energy crisis storm raged around us we stood out of the wind. But we also rid ourselves of needed pressure to reduce energy consumption. Our enterprises had an immense guaranteed market. But they also lost their ability to compete and gained the impression that they can produce just any old thing. This bond had been drafted in history, and thus it is necessary to look at it from both sides.

I do not at all want to excuse us by this. A certain uncompromising attitude can, maybe, help us. Oil magnates will, perhaps, recall that we have a pipeline from the Adriatic to Slovakia (which only Hungary now uses for storing supplies). Economists from all sections will sit down and finally begin to calculate in real figures.

This will not be easy for any country. At the same time, CEMA is struggling with divergent and convergent tendencies. Perhaps reason will triumph. It is impossible to sever ties all at once; that is nonsense. On the contrary, it is impossible to maintain CEMA's detachment from the world economy. The significance of the CEMA countries in foreign trade with individual countries will decline and the ties maintained will acquire a new rational basis. It is premature to forecast the fate of joint projects, but, according to development in surrounding countries, it is possible to gauge that their energy will be directed toward the West rather than toward the East. We will see. However, let us hope that the situation will not be repeated when in integrated projects we produced a ruble for Kcs30 and other such peculiarities.

Further on Cami Berating 'Anti-Albanian Campaign'

AU1301145690 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 13 Jan 90

["We March Forward on the Road We Ourselves Have Chosen—Interview of the Secretary of the Party CC (Central Committee) and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly, Comrade Foto Cami, Granted to the Albanian Radio-TV"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 12 /ATA/—[Question] Yesterday and today, too, the official Italian TV has broadcast news as if the so-called wind of the East is blowing in Albania and that demonstrations have been staged in Shkoder and elsewhere. How do you assess these kind of reports, Comrade Foto?

[Reply] How do I assess them? I cannot find a better word than slanders. During the recent days the anti-Albanian inventions from abroad have increased, everybody strives to fancy as much as possible. The Belgrade radio-TV and the Yugoslav news agency say that a demonstration was staged in Shkoder. Radio-Vatican advances even further saying that an insurrection occurred. The Greek chauvinist forces and reactionary clergymen slander that allegedly four youngsters from the minority have been murdered in the border by dragging them with a tractor. A Western news agency says that several people have been hung in the center of Tirana, Shkoder, Vlore, and elsewhere and have been left hanging for a whole week. That's all: a race of slanders. There exist not only sports events.

[Question] Why is this campaign organized and who is interested in it?

[Reply] The aim is clear. They wish that what has occurred in the countries of the East happen in Albania, too, they want that "Balli Kombetar," "the agas and beys," oppression and exploitation come back. This is the democracy they want to be established in Albania. Who is interested in it? It is understandable that those who are interested in it are those who do not want Albania be free, independent, and sovereign.

The main role in hatching up the slanders against Albania has been undertaken by TANJUG and Serbian press of Belgrade. It is clear why. They want to detach the attention of the world from the oppressions toward Kosovo, from the trials and growing discrimination, from the crises and conflicts that have erupted in Yugoslavia. They want to discredit Albania so as to augment the pressures and violence on the Albanians in Yugoslavia. Therefore, we are not surprised by the fact that the most fantastic news are elaborated in Belgrade. We are surprised and are sorry for the fact that the Italian radio-TV, which is considered as serious, believes and becomes propagandist of these inventions.

The anti-Albanian campaign is actively joined also by a part of the Greek press. They are allegedly interested in the situation of the Greek minority in Albania. We are really sorry for that because a sound spirit of friendship exists between our two countries. The normal and friendly relations between the two countries serve also the national minorities. Their artificial aggravation serves to no one.

[Question] Certainly, there is no need to confute these slanders made against Albania, but they have aroused a profound indignation in our people.

[Reply] That's right, but there is a good point in it: They urge us to raise higher the vigilance, to safeguard our freedom, independence and sovereignty, to enhance the mobilization, to work harder for the benefit of the homeland and socialism, to strengthen and steel our unflinching unity and determination to march forward on the road we ourselves have chosen.

Ambassador to Italy Denies Unrest Reports

AU1501124990 Rome ANSA in English 0950 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, January 15—The "campaign of inventions" to convince world public opinion of unrest in Albania and that a state of emergency has been declared there is the work of a "maneuvre" by Serbian leaders and the result of the recent Malta summit between United States President George Bush and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, according to the Albanian ambassador to Italy, Dashnor Dervishi.

Speaking to the press here Sunday, on the sidelines of a reception held at the embassy to mark Albania's Republic Day, the ambassador said the "maneuvre" by Serbian leaders was aimed at drawing attention away from Yugoslavia's domestic troubles. "But given that the situation in Albania is completely normal," he affirmed, "the result is that if one day something really does occur in our nation, which I exclude, no one will believe us."

For Dervishi, evidence that false information on the situation in Albania is indeed part of a "maneuvre" is the fact that the press, including Italy's, "reported only negative news and not reports that everything was and is normal."

The Albanian diplomat then added that he had written a protest note to the executives at Italy's state broadcasting network, RAI, over its coverage. RAI broadcasts from southern Italy can be easily received in Albania.

In answer to requests made by the press that it be allowed to visit Albania for a first-hand view, the ambassador replied, "There is no reason to take such a trip just to see a dancing bear, you can go to the circus."

Hungarian Envoy Says No Sign of Disturbances

LD1401194190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Chiefly on the basis of Yugoslav, Greek, and Italian newspaper reports, the conclusion may be drawn that changes have begun to take place in Albania as well. Ernoe Kardos has telephoned Mihaly Kornidesz, Hungary's ambassador in Tirana:

[Begin recording] [Kardos] Recently in Albania, several disturbances, attempted revolts, have been bloodily suppressed. This news was given to a Greek news agency by an Albanian soldier. I wonder how true this news is.

[Kornidesz] Whether it is true or not, nothing of the kind has happened here. One can see nothing here.

[Kardos] Do the newspapers not deal with this topic? Don't they even deny the report?

[Kornidesz] The Albanians have denied it.

[Kardos] So presumably the information is also false that on the border they might have opened fire on people who want to leave the country illegally?

[Kornidesz] Look, I do not have the slightest idea about this. Nobody here has said anything about this. They have merely said that recently false reports have been appearing about Albania.

[Kardos] Have you taken a walk in the streets of Tirana today as well, incidentally?

[Kornidesz] Yes, and yesterday, too.

[Kardos] And have you been in the provinces also?

[Kornidesz] Yes.

[Kardos] And does the mood roughly coincide with what is reported in the local press?

[Kornidesz] Look, things are absolutely normal. Nothing can be sensed in the streets.

[Kardos] And were there no attempts at disturbance, attempted revolts, earlier, either?

[Kornidesz] I am sorry, this is something, naturally, which I cannot tell you. All I know is that there is absolute order and calm in the streets. The Albanian side all along has indicated that nothing has happened. So, in this city and its environs, nothing can be sensed of the kind reported by the Greeks and by the Italians. [end recording]

Italian Embassy Official Denies Reports of Unrest

AU1401142990 Tirana ATA in English 0738 GMT 14 Jan 90

["Situation in Albania Is Tranquil and Normal, the Official of the Italian Embassy in Tirana Declares"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 13 (ATA)—Today we were told at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that on the evening of January 12 the interim charge d'affaires of Italy in Tirana, Paolo de Nicola, at a meeting he had at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania, declared that the news given recently by the Italian press and radio-television on alleged unrest in Albania do not refer to reality, they are groundless. These news are not disseminated by the Italian Government, they are taken from Yugoslav sources. At the same time he stressed that the Italian Embassy in Tirana sees that the situation in Albania is tranquil and normal.

UDF Presents Demands at Roundtable 13 Jan

AU1301172690 Sofia BTA in English
1442 GMT 13 Jan 90

["UDF's Demands Before Forthcoming Round Table"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 13 (BTA)—The "round table" of the governing Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) on the one side and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) on the other side, will be broadcast live on the Bulgarian Radio and the Bulgarian Television will air extensive parts of it.

This was announced by Mr Petko Simeonov, chairman of the Club for Glasnost and Democracy, at a press conference held here. He explained that an agreement in principle on this issue exists but nevertheless this will be the first demand of the UDF before the forthcoming talks with the governing coalition scheduled for mid-January.

Other details about the forthcoming "round table" were also mentioned at the press conference. The opposition UDF does not exclude the participation in the "round table" of other parties and organizations who have expressed such a wish, but at a later stage, depending on the results of the first stage of the talks.

There is also an agreement in principle with the government for providing of a building for headquarters of the UDF, for provision of paper and a printing base for the paper of the union.

The UDF leaders expressed readiness for cooperation with any opposition group which could emerge, as well as for attentive analysis of the requests of other organizations for entering into the UDF. At present the UDF has 10 parties and independent organizations as members.

Preliminary Roundtable Talks Open 16 Jan

AU1601141890 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Our reporters at the National Assembly report that immediately after beginning the first roundtable talks session, the Union of Democratic Forces demanded a 15-minute pause.

The meeting began with a greetings message read by Andrey Lukanov, in which he expressed wishes for a constructive dialogue. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, again posed certain basic demands: the publication of a newspaper by the union, providing a building to the union, and access to the radio and television.

Andrey Lukanov responded that the issue of the newspaper has positively been resolved. The issue of the building also has been resolved in principle. The Sofia City People's Council must provide appropriate premises by the end of the week.

The access to radio and television will be reviewed simultaneously with the reports on the roundtable talks and the progress of the election campaign.

Union Demands Listed

AU1601161890 Sofia BTA in English
1529 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—The roundtable talks with the participation of delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) opened today.

There was a danger of breaking off the talks at the very beginning because the UDF had set conditions demanding the issue of a paper of its own, working premises and access to the radio and television.

Mr Andrey Lukanov, head of the delegation of the ruling parties, said that in principle this problem has already been solved.

Mr Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the UDF and leader of the UDF delegation, stated that this does not satisfy the UDF delegation.

After a break during which the UDF delegation held consultations, the roundtable talks have been resumed.

Komsomol Appeal to Roundtable

AU1601151690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] A delegation of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol handed an appeal to the delegates of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, and the Union of Democratic Forces, which are taking part in the national roundtable talks.

In their appeal, the representatives of the Komsomol say that the national roundtable talks must take place with the participation of all interested sociopolitical forces. They demand to be allowed to defend the interests of the Dimitrov Komsomol, which is renewing its image, and of its members and their vision about Bulgaria's future. Otherwise, if the Komsomol is not equally represented at the national roundtable, the Bulgarian youth will not feel themselves bound by the agreements reached at the roundtable, and their practical implementation. This is a serious obstacle to achieving national consensus.

At present, the appeal has been signed by more than 100,000 members of the Dimitrov Komsomol.

TU's Demand Participation

AU1601205390 Sofia BTA in English
2031 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—The Interim Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions told the BTA that it categorically disagrees with the

proceedings and the purposes of the national roundtable talks as drafted by the delegation of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and two independent MPs.

"The Bulgarian Communist Party behaves in a way which reproduces old stereotypes and does not take into account the new realities in the country," says the statement receieved in the BTA. "It and the opposition represented by the Union of Democratic Forces believe that they are the only ones which should decide the destinies of the people."

The Interim Executive Committee of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions insists that the roundtable talks be attended by: 1. The BCP, the BZNS and two independent MPs (as well as the organizations supporting their political positions); 2. the Union of Democratic Forces and the organizations supporting its political positions; 3. the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions and all autonomous public forces not committed to the other two parties.

The agenda is suggested to include an anti-crisis program, a strategic solution to the ethnic crisis, principles of privatization and restructuring of ownership to guarantee a possibly most painless transition to a market economy, and agreements on the formation of a provisional coalition government.

BTA Reports Results

AU1601191890 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—Delegations of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, independent MPs and the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) opened roundtable talks here today. The Green Party joined the eleven parties, associations and groups represented in the SDS.

At the very outset there was a danger of the negotiations breaking off, but they survived the hitch, and the talks proper will start on January 18.

At the rules-of-procedure talks earlier this month the SDS delegation demanded a newspaper of its own, premises and access to radio and television time as a precondition for taking part in the negotiations. "Otherwise, no dialogue on equal terms can be held," the SDS chairman, Dr Zhelyu Zhelev, recalled today. He described as "unsatisfactory" the assurances of Mr Andrey Lukanov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, that the matter was settled in principle and what remained to be done was to go ahead with specific action.

The SDS delegation retired for consultations, after which its head said, "We will agree to compromise and go on with the talks. For yet another time we will show good will despite the foot- dragging on the decision."

The wrangling over the contentious issue took most of the time of the roundtable session today, but in the long run the delegations announced that the negotiations in substance will resume on January 18 with the political system as item one on the agenda. Legislation, the socioeconomic sphere and ethnic policy will be discussed later on.

Spokesmen for the two delegations and some of the negotiators stress that the positions converge on a number of questions. However, when a BCP official suggested that "we all seek one and the same thing," SDS spokesman Georgi Spasov answered, "In Bulgaria there are still forces which oppose genuine democracy."

Public Council on Nationality Issue Meets 9 Jan

AU1601121390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

["Announcement" issued by the Public Council on Discussing the Nationality Issue in Sofia on 9 January]

[Text] Today, 9 January 1990, at the "East" Hall of the National Assembly, the Public Council on Discussing the Nationality Issue, founded at the initiative of the National Assembly leadership, had its first meeting, which continued throughout the day. The following figures took the floor:

Vasil Donchev, from the Shumen Coordination Committee on National Unity;

Bozhidar Dimitrov, from the All-People Committee on Defense of National Interests;

Stara Zagora Metropolitan Pankratiy, representative of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church;

Deyan Kyuranov, from "Ecoglasnost."

Iliya Iliev, representing the workers of Shumen ZIENO Enterprise;

Petur Dertliev, from the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party;

Krasimir Kunev, from Committee 273;

Zhivko Zhivkov, from the Fatherland Front National Council;

Lyubomir Sobadzhiev, from the "Civic Initiative" Movement;

Mincho Minchev, from the All-People Committee on Defense of National Interests;

Branko Davidov, from the "Rodolyubie" [Patriotism] Rhodope Union, Smolyan;

Denis Mutafov, public figure;

Krasen Stanchev, from the Committee on National Reconciliation;

Dr Konstantin Trenchev, from the Independent "Podkrepa" Labor Federation;

Slavcho Trunski, from the Committee on Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia and Africa;

Emil Koshlukov, from the Independent Student Associations;

Mitko Kantardzhiev, from the All-Peoples Committee on Defense of National Interest, Kurdzhali;

Academician Georgi Bliznakov, public figure;

Elka Konstantinova, from the Radical-Democratic Party;

Rumen Vodenicharov, from the Independent Association of Human Rights Defense in Bulgaria;

Nina Koralova, from the Committee on National Reconciliation, Kurdzhali; and

Dimitur Arnaudov, from the All-People Committee on Defense of National Interests.

The speakers expressed different positions and opinions, and made specific proposals. Among them was the proposal of the chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council of a draft-platform of national consensus, which points out that we must guard the peaceful process of restructuring and developing democracy in the country, while preserving the total equality of the rights of all Bulgarian citizens, as the apple of our eye.

All those who took the floor expressed the common striving toward a peaceful, democratic, and law-governed Bulgaria.

The meeting was chaired by Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman.

Tomorrow [10 January] the Public Council will continue its work.

Further on Nationality Debate

AU1601204290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 90 p 6

[Excerpts] Sofia, 11 January (special correspondents Mila Manova and Zoya Nesterova)—In the National Assembly in Sofia, the intense exchange of opinions and heated discussion of the nationality issue continued into its fourth day. As is already known, the participants in the debate represent heterogeneous, even contrary opinions, and one may sum up by noting that the days of debate have produced not only a more complete and comprehensive assessment of the real situation in the country today, but also a common striving to achieve a common starting point on the fundamental issues. [passage omitted]

The following took part in the discussion: Rusi Atanasov from the Committee for Defense of National Interests in Turgovishte; Teodor Gyaurov, from the Turgovishte Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]; Stefan Iliev, from the Bulgarian Artists Union; Medi Doganov, from the Movement for Defense of the Rights and Liberties of the Turkish-Speaking and Muslim Population in Bulgaria; Zhelyu Vladimirov, lecturer at Sofia University; Manush Romanov, from the National Democratic Union of Gypsies in Bulgaria: Viktor Vulkov, from the Parliamentary Group of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; Ivanka Vulcheva, from Varna; Zhelyu Zhelev, from the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF]; Dimitur Kyuchukov, from the Komsomol Central Committee; Mincho Minchev, from Kurdzhali; Deyan Kyuranov, from Ecoglasnost; Asen Sevarski, public figure; Vulcho Drumev, ship's fitter; Nikolay Panayotov, from Varna; Spartak Gavazov, from the Committee for National Reconciliation, Aleksandur Yordanov, from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Petur Chaushev and Yuli Mladenov, from the Democratic Muslims Union; Yasen Ustrenski, writer; Blagoy Kalumov, from the Committee for Civic Unity in Kurdzhali; Evgeniya Ayvazova, from Momchilgrad; Khristo Peev, from the Movement for Civic Initiatives; Georgi Spasov, from the UDF; Boyko Borisov, journalist; Angel Angelov, from Sofia University; Lyubomir Pavlov, from Podkrepa; and Krasen Stanchev. [passage omitted]

Georgi Spasov read a UDF declaration that stated that the decision adopted by the plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers on 29 December 1989 is assessed as the first really democratic act, through which the leadership of the ruling BCP and the official authorities wanted to disassociate themselves from one of the most serious felonies of Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian and totalitarian regime and distance themselves from its criminal policies. [passage omitted]

National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov proposed to the participants in the Public Council that realistic goals should be set in preparing the final document, namely:

First, to achieve national concord, the abuses must be overcome. Unless this is done, no progress can be made in any field of development in Bulgaria and serious difficulties await us as a state.

Second, in order to achieve consensus, the constitutional rights of Bulgarian citizens must be strictly protected and guaranteed. This refers to all citizens and all rights proclaimed and recorded in the Constitution and the international agreements signed by Bulgaria at the United Nations and in Helsinki and Vienna. Guarantees must be provided for the individual rights and liberties of all Bulgarians, Bulgarian Muslims, Turkish speakers, Jews, Armenians, and gypsies, with sure guarantees provided by the government and the law.

Third, a parliamentary public commission should be set up under the chairmanship of State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov to draw up a complete, long-term

nationality policy for the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which should be adopted at the next meeting of the National Assembly, and in the intervening period a broad dialogue should be conducted with all the Bulgarian people in order to prepare this scientifically based, complete long-term policy for Bulgaria.

Fourth, peaceful means must be used for settling conflict situations and problems that arise, excluding all use of force, and using means of reconciliation, national consensus, and democratic dialogue and procedures for discussing all issues.

Fifth, firm and reliable guarantees must be provided for Bulgaria's national security, the integrity of our national territory, and the unity of the Bulgarian people. [passage omitted]

At the end of today's session a commission was elected with the following members:

Chairman: Vasil Mruchkov;

Members: Krustyu Petkov, Mincho Minchev, Metropolitan Pankratiy, Nedyu Gendzhev, Aleksandur Lilov, Viktor Vulkov, Ginyo Ganev, Zhelyu Zhelev, Blagovest Sendov, Lyuben Stefanov, Denis Mutafov, Branko Davidov, Lyuben Kulishev, Father Ambarev, Medi Doganov, Lyubomir Pavlov, Nikolay Panayotov, Asen Nikolov, and Kostadin Georgiev.

The committee will prepare a draft of a joint document for submission to the forthcoming session of the National Assembly. The draft will be examined at tomorrow's session of the Public Council. [passage omitted]

Shumen National Unity Group 'Ceases Activity'

AU1301164790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] An almost 3-hour discussion took place in Shumen on topical problems connected with resolving the nationality issue. The meeting was organized by all interested parties in one of the halls of the Shumen Drama Theater.

After many, often contradictory viewpoints had been put forward, the meeting adopted a declaration of the Coordinating Committee for National Unity. The declaration supports the draft National Assembly declaration on resolving the nationality problem and appeals to all political organizations, parties, and movements in the town to become public guarantors for the application of the new decisions.

Considering that the aims for which it was created have been fulfilled, the Coordinating Committee for National Unity in Shumen announced that it is ceasing its activity. Emphasis was put on the idea that such talks in support of restructuring should become a traditional practice.

New BCP Faction Established Within Party

AU1001195990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jan 90 p 6

[Vasil Popov report: "Moral and Organizational Disassociation"]

[Text] Sofia, 5 January—Today in Sofia, the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO) faction within the BCP, which was initiated on 16 December 1989, was established. Two variations of the faction's platform were read to the crowd that filled up not only the hall but also the corridors of the Cinema Club. It was pointed out that the establishment of the faction was prompted by the lack of possibility for any party to develop and improve without the existence of internal party trends, wings, and factions; the half-measures of the party leadership for inner-party renewal and social democratization; and the necessity to morally and organizationally disassociate from persons firmly connected with the totalitarian regime.

An appeal to the Communists was read. It dealt with organizing inner-party opposition, rejecting the party interests as a goal in itself, subjugating those interests to the people, and accelerating the processes of democratization.

The representatives of the initiative group pointed out that the faction adheres to Marxism. The ASO rejects the alternative of democratic capitalism and will struggle for a humane and prudent transition toward democratic socialism. The goal is to implement radical changes in the BCP organizational structures, principles of action, and political programs.

The "Bulgarian Road to Europe" Platform expressed approval of the ASO and proposed to form a joint list of candidate delegates for the forthcoming congress. A declaration on the ethnic issue was discussed. The ASO's National Conference will take place on 12 January.

ASO Faction To Meet

AU0901153790 Sofia BTA in English 1343 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—The first national conference of the Alternative Socialist Society (ASO), a faction within the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] will be held in the Universiada Hall in Sofia on January 12, 1990. Opening time: 1800 hours. All Bulgarian and foreign journalists can get accredited at the Press Centre in the hall just before the opening of the conference.

The ASO political declaration circulated here proclaims that the Alternative Socialist Society rejects Stalinism and declares itself to be the continuer of the traditions of the democratic socialist movement. The society rejects the "apparatus" road to reforming the BCP. The document points out that the BCP is politically responsible

for the total crisis in the country and expresses conviction that in its present form the party cannot help achieve a humane and reasonable transition to democratic socialism.

ASO declares itself to be for political pluralism, parliamentary democracy and local self-management, equality of all forms of ownership, national concord through dialogue and giving up all position-of-strength methods.

The faction will actively participate in the extraordinary congress of the BCP scheduled for the end of this month. The proposed directions for reforming the party are: de-Stalinization of the party ideology, de-Bolshevization of the party organization, elimination of the democratic centralism, adoption of the territorial-federative principle of party organization, building an apparatus for policy instead of forming policy to service the apparatus.

Leader Discusses Goals

AU1501130990

[Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 12 January on page 7 carries a 1,000-word interview with Docent Nikolay Vasilev, "chairman of the Initiative Group of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO) Faction In the BCP," by Aleksandur Kharalanov, OTECHESTVEN FRONT reporter. The date and place are not given.

Vasilev points out that "until now the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has not been a political party, but a semi-military administrative organization of leaders and subordinates, something that caused its total compromising." In this context, he points out that "ASO was created so that through it all honest Communists will be able to dissociate themselves from the other party figures who are closely connected with the totalitarian regime."

Asked about the goals of the faction, Vasilev emphasizes that ASO aims at "fully eliminating the totalitarian structure; electing a new parliament; adopting a new constitution; introducing a multiparty system, depoliticizing the Army, militia, the security organs, the court, the prosecutor's office, the state administration, and the mass media; and immediately arresting Todor Zhivkov and the members of his mafia, and beginning their trial."

Asked about ASO's attitude toward the ethnic issue, Vasilev responds that ASO "supports the decision of the government of 29 December 1989," and "dissociates itself from any chauvinistic and pan-Turkish attitudes."

BCP Alternative Faction Holds Conference

AU1201230190 Sofia BTA in English 2225 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—Today, at its first national conference the Alternative Socialist Society (ASS), a faction of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], made an appeal to all democratic forces in the country and the Bulgarian people for setting up a constitutional forum, dissolving the present parliamentary commission which is working on the new constitution and for forming a new independent commission.

The conference is discussing the draft of the political platform and the programme for the activity of the Alternative Socialist Society.

The members of the faction insist on the de-Stalinization of party and social life in the country and the dismantling of the corrupt apparatus and nomenclature.

The governing body of the society and the delegates to the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP will be elected later tonight.

BCP Membership Restored to Expelled Members

AU1701101190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] The Bureau of the Central Control-Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] reviewed the petitions of Georgi Ivanov Naydenov and Metodi Ivanov Antov, who were accused of "inflicting damage on the country, and personal misappropriation," in connection with the case against the "Teksim—Bulgarian Trade Fleet" and expelled from the BCP on the basis of a decision adopted by the BCP Central Committee.

It was established that the Sofia City Court, the court of first record, had acquitted the aforementioned persons. The chairman of the City Court was subsequently removed from his post. Furthermore, in the typical administrative-command style of Todor Zhivkov, crude interference in the work of the judicial organs was allowed and the Supreme Court was instructed to establish the guilt and sentence the "guilty" persons.

On the basis of the acquittal of Sofia's City Court, the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission restored the BCP membership of Georgi Ivanov Naydenov and Metodi Ivanov Antov, without any interruption.

It was proposed to the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Bulgaria that it review the materials of the case.

Georgi Markov Reinstated in Writers Union

AU1001192090 Sofia BTA in English 1711 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Bulgarian Writer Georgi Markov Rehabilitated"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The visit which Mrs Annabel Markov of Britain paid here recently provided an occasion to remember some aspects of the literary career and the life of her husband, the Bulgarian writer Georgi Markov (1929-1978), well known to the public in this country as an author of fiction, drama and essays.

His books include "Between Day and Night," "Men," "The Women of Warsaw," "Sanatorium," "Quiz," "A Portrait of My Lookalike." He also wrote plays: "Coffee of Pretensions," "Squeezing Through the Rainbow," and "The Lift." His play "I Was Him" was staged at the Theatre of Satire but was banned after the dress rehearsal, due to which the author had to hurry out of his country in 1969. He first left for Italy and after that settled in London where he died in September 1978 in mysterious and still unclear circumstances (the notorious "Bulgarian Umbrella" affair). The visit of his widow and her meetings with Bulgarian men of letters are part of a campaign to start an investigation into the writer's mysterious death. Some time ago Bulgarian writers started collecting signatures on a petition for Georgi Markov's rehabilitation and for his posthumous reinstatement as member of the Writers Union. The document was handed to the union's Governing Board which at its latest session announced that Markov's expulsion was cancelled.

Along with that, a view was expressed that Bulgarian readers should be reintroduced to his works. The Trade Union Publishing House took the first step in this direction: For several months now it has been preparing for publication a one-volume selected works by Georgi Markov edited by Dimitur Paunov and prefaced by Mrs Annabel Markov. The collection will include "The Women of Warsaw" and "A Portrait of My Lookalike". The Bulgarski Pisatel publishers, for its part, intends to reprint some of the writer's fiction. Today the TRUD daily starts serializing excerpts from Markov's "Correspondence Reports About Bulgaria." Some of them have already been broadcast on Radio Free Europe and the book came out one year after the author's death in Switzerland and, in Bulgarian, in Spain. The reports attempt an imaginative and political analysis of the rise and consolidation of Zhivkov's totalitarian regime in Bulgaria.

Until his death Georgi Markov worked as an editor at the BBC Bulgarian Service. He also performed in programmes of Radio Free Europe and Deutsche Welle.

'Repressed' Party Figures Rehabilitated

AU1701081590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[Unattributed report: "Joint Decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and of the Bureau of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission on the Political Rehabilitation of Party Figures Repressed in the Years of Todor Zhivkov's Authoritarian Regime"]

[Text] The difficult ideological-political inheritance of Stalinism, the methods, and means of consolidating the authoritarian regime of the 30's in the USSR under the circumstances of the postwar revolutionary situation were not only exported to the countries that proceeded along the path of socialism during that period, but also deeply rooted in the political system of the new society, especially following the establishment of the Cominform Bureau.

The tragic, negative consequences of the personality cult were partially overcome as a result of the 20th CPSU Congress and the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum. New relapses of this phenomenon in political and inner-party life, however, began to emerge at the same time.

Suspiciousness and distrust, the fear that personal power may be affected, or even lost, most frequently resulted in investigations and "detections" of conspiracies.

Any thoughts, or opinions, that differed from Todor Zhivkov's in the first place, were persecuted, their authors and exponents were repressed. Party members with independent thoughts, views, and evaluations, who enjoyed prestige and influence among the people and whose opinions and positions might seriously obstruct the further consolidation of the one-man, authoritarian regime, belonged to this group, in the first place. With the active participation of State Security top functionaries, basic evaluations were made and political consequences drawn. They were usually reflected in subsequent decisions of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, after which they were officially adopted by a Central Committee Plenum.

Such decisions were usually accompanied by a letter from the BCP Central Committee to the party organizations in which certain political figures were insulted and slandered, accused of grave aberrations, and sometimes even of crimes against the state. Special trials were also staged on such occasions. The trial against the "conspirators" of the group composed of Tsolo Krustev, Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, and Tsvyatko Anev was one of these examples.

While denouncement and punishment were the tasks of the Central Committee, the rehabilitation of the party figures who had suffered unjust treatment took place in a semi-official manner, according to the will and magnanimity of the former general secretary, the Politburo, or the BCP Central Committee Secreteriat, without informing either the party or the public. We can say that all throughout those years there was hardly a case of a party member punished by the Central Committee, and subsequently, rehabilitated by the same organ. In certain cases, the BCP membership of those punished was restored without interruption of their party service term, while in the majority of cases the membership was restored as of the decision on rehabilitation.

The restoration of party membership took place without renouncing or repealing the political accusations and personal abuses, to which he had been subjected at the time of his punishment, against the Communist in question. This halfhearted rehabilitation reveals one of the great shortcomings of the authoritarian regime—namely the myth about the infallibility of the first leader and his entourage.

In the majority of cases, party figures accused of being "enemies of the April Plenum policy" were actually fighters against the abuses of socialism and the authoritarian system, fighters for a democratic and human face of socialism. The group of Nikola Kufardzhiev and Veselin Dashin was particularly characteristic in this respect.

We could also describe numerous farcical situations related to the party status of certain honest and popular revolutionaries, such as General Boris Kopchev. He was elected BCP Central Committee member at the Fifth BCP Congress in 1948. At the 1950 January Plenum, he was removed from the Central Committee and dismissed from the Army, following which, in 1954, he was allowed to participate in Central Committee sessions with a consultative vote in accordance with a Politburo decision that was in contradiction with the party statute. At a meeting of the all-Army BCP aktiv, immediately following the April Plenum, Gen. Kopchev expressed disagreement with the first party leader, the former Politburo decision was canceled at Todor Zhivkov's initiative, and Gen. Kopchev was no longer authorized to participate in BCP Central Committee sessions. Other similar, paradoxical cases existed in those "April days."

One group of party and state leaders of the past is not and should not be entitled to any amnesty. Their shortcomings and responsibility toward the party, history, and the future generations should neither be attenuated, nor forgiven. This applies in particular to those who were directly involved in the illegal repressions of the personality cult era, and especially in the so- called Traycho Kostov show trials, and other, later trials. We should unconditionally reject Todor Zhivkov's personal, arbitrary political abuse against the people repressed during that period, the political insults and the specific party punishments to which they were subjected as a result of this.

On the basis of our correct investigations, the political rehabilitation and the categorical restoration of the good reputation of repressed revolutionaries and Communists are totally justified. The struggle they waged against the new negative actions committed by the BCP leadership, headed by Todor Zhivkov at that time, their struggle against the utopic long-term plans, the economic leaps, the demagogic policy, against corruption, lies, and neglect of the social sphere was absolutely justified and should not be subject to any questioning. It deserves the highest evaluation.

The question of the methods that these groups and individual Communists applied in their struggle is quite complicated. The judicial organs, after reviewing the cases, shall pronounce their verdict, whether conspiracies were really involved. The preliminary data show that the people in question did not try to overthrow the existing social system in Bulgaria, but only to achieve personal changes in the party and state leadership, namely to overthrow Todor Zhivkov, and to eliminate the emerging abuses within the party and the country. The facts should be thoroughly and objectively evaluated, without emotion. The work for the full clarification of these phenomena should be further pursued.

Taking into consideration all these facts, the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Bureau of the Central Control-Auditing Commission adopted the following decision:

I. The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and the Central Control-Auditing Commission Bureau have decided on the full political rehabilitation of the following party figures, rejecting the political accusations and moral slanders to which they have been subjected as slanderous and untruthful, and canceling the decisions on their punishment that were adopted by the Politburo and by BCP Central Committee plenums, and announced to the party and public:

a) General Boris Kopchev—accused of "hypocrisy," and "anti-party statements." (On the basis of BCP Central Committee documents of the period April-June 1956);

b) Georgi Chankov—the specific accusations of "factional actions by which he undermined the unity and collective spirit of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and of the party in the purpose of changing the party policy" and "of obstructing economic relations with the USSR" contained in the documents of the July 1957 BCP Central Committee Plenum, and his removal from the BCP Central Committee are considered unjustified.

c) Boris Taskov—the accusation of "gross violation of party discipline and ethics, of engaging in plots and actions aimed against the unity of the party and the party line" contained in the documents of the Politburo and the March-April 1959 BCP Central Committee Plenum; his removal from the Politburo, and his demotion from member to candidate member of the BCP Central Committee are considered as unjustified.

d) The group of Nikola Kofardzhiev, Veselin Dashin, Georgi Milev, Khristo Yordanov, Ivan Dionisiev, Ilya Alkov, and Benzhamin Varon—the accusation of being an "anti-party, factional, and revisionist group that pursues the goal of changing the present party line and policy ...." is contained in the documents of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and of the BCP Central Committee plenum of March 1961. The party membership of the individuals belonging to this group is to be immediately restored, without interruption and the other, relevant organs are urged to restore their honorary titles and awards of which they had been unjustifiably deprived.

e) Yonko Panov and Dobri Terpeshev—accused of devious behavior, schismatic and factional actions against the unity of the party's Central Committee and against the implementation of the 1956 April and September plenums, of demoralizing and subversive activities, and subject to other severe, critical evaluations about them that are contained in all documents of the Politburo, the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, the

Central Committee plenums in the 1957-1961 period, and in press materials released for publication. Their removal from the BCP Central Committee in July 1957 is considered unjustified, and their BCP membership is restored postmortem, without any interruption. The other, relevant organs are urged to restore all their titles and awards of which they were unjustifiably deprived.

f) The group of Anton Yugov, Todor Zvezdov, Todor Kordovski, Slavcho Gilin, Kosta Chekalarov, and Nikola Gruncharov—accused of factional anti-party activities and demoralizing actions in the Plovdiv party organization and in some other areas of the country, contained in the materials of the central and local party organs in 1972. The restoration of their party membership without interruption is confirmed, and the other relevant organs are urged to restore all their titles of which they have been unjustifiably deprived.

II. The group of Tsolo Krustev, Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, and General Tsvyatko Anev—the members of this group and all participants in the alleged conspiracy of the group are politically rehabilitated. The party membership of Tsolo Krustev and Ivan Todorov-Gorunya is restored postmortem. The party membership of Tsvyatko Anev, Lyuben Dinov, Micho Ermenov, Ivan Velchev, Blagoy Mavrodiev, Boris Temkov, Avram Chernev, and the others punished for participation and relations with the group is also restored. The other, relevant organs are urged to restore all titles and awards the members of this group may have owned and that they were unjustifiably deprived of. It is recommended to the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, as soon as possible, to publish a list of names of this large group of Communists in the mass media for their rehabilitation.

III. Khristo Kumanov, Marin Patsev, and Simeon Prokopov—who were sentenced at the Pleven Trial (1978)—are politically rehabilitated. The party membership of Khristo Kumanov and Marin Patsev should be restored without interruption, and this applies to all Communists from the former Pleven Okrug BCP Committee who were expelled from the party for participating in this group and for their relations with it.

It is recommended to the Chief Prosecutor's Office and the Supreme Court of the People's Republic of Bulgaria that it submit proposals for reviewing the procedures in order to cancel the sentences of the trial against the Tsolo Krustev group and others who were convicted at the Pleven trial (1978)

IV. The oblast and municipal committees and party organizations should, as soon as possible, politically rehabilitate the innocent Communists and non-party people who were involved in the cases of the groups and individual party members mentioned in the joint decision.

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The restoration of the good reputation of all those who were subject to unjustified repressions during the period of Todor Zhivkov's authoritarian regime is the unconditional moral and political obligation of the party and of all generations. This is an act of justice, of victorious truth. Many lessons could be learned from the grave aberrations committed in the past and affecting the life of our party and country.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo and the Bureau of the Central Control-Auditing Commission express their conviction that the rehabilitated Communists and non-party members who innocently suffered from the past repressions will most actively participate in the struggle for the implementation of the new party line, for the party's and our society's revolutionary restructuring, for building a humane and democratic socialism in our homeland.

New Deputy Minister Appointments Noted

AU1101210190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jan 90 p 6

[Text] The following more important acts are published in Issue No. 3 of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK:

—Decree No. 4 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 3 January 1990. The decree creates a Labor and Social Security Committee [Komitet po truda i sotsialnoto osiguryavane] under the Council of Ministers and instructs the Council of Ministers to determine the committee's functions and tasks.

—Decree No. 5 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 3 January 1990. The decree creates a Committee on Prices [Komitet po tsenite] under the Council of Ministers and instructs the Council of Ministers to determine the committee's functions and tasks.

—Decree No. 7 of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria dated 3 January 1990. The decree releases Andrey Viktorov Bundzhulov from the post of first deputy minister of national education and makes the following appointments: Ivan Penev Tenev, as first deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Ivan Krustev Kamenov, as first deputy minister of construction, architecture, and amenities; Lyuben Stoilov Petrov, as deputy minister of construction, architecture and amenities; and Todor Angelov Todorov, as deputy minister of national education.

—The State Committee for Environment Protection has published Order No. 1,449 dated 21 December 1989. The order announces the establishment of the "Vrachanski Balkan" National Park in Mikhaylovgrad and Sofia Oblasts.

Managers Union Established in Sofia 10 Jan

AU1001165890 Sofia BTA in English 1612 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—A managers' union was established today in Bulgaria. Over 200 managers and executives of Bulgarian companies and enterprises responded to the proposal of the initiative group. Most of them approved the idea for the establishment of this independent organization which should unite and protect their interests in the name of the efficient development of the national economy.

The organization will protect the independence of the economic structures and economic leaders before the state and the trade unions, will take part in the formation of the new legislation, will work out alternative positions on economic strategy and policy and on separate economic programs. It will work for the gradual transition to a market economy and free competition, for demonopolization, depolitization and internationalisation of economic activity.

The union will work for the delimitation of the economic and the state structures, for optimal application of all kinds of property, will work for the provision of constitutional guarantees of equality in economic activity, will assist the establishing of unions of the individual companies.

Mr Stoyan Drundarov was elected temporary chairman of the Bulgarian Managers' Union. A temporary leadership was also elected which was entrusted to represent the union at the "round table" and at all other forums discussing economic policy.

Individual Producers Union Established

AU0101163590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 23 Dec 89 p 2

[Vasil Pavlov report: "Constituent Congress"]

[Text] From the idea of a dozen Sofia companies, an initiative committee in Sofia turned to the citizens engaged in economic activity at their own account and risk to found their own union. Its goal will be to defend their economic and social interests in anything related to relations with the organs of state government and administration, and create conditions of developing the people's initiative for the production of goods and services.

Almost 100 representatives of more than 2,200 producers throughout the country responded to the invitation and came to the constituent congress. The discussion, which continued for more than 5 hours, often developed into quarrels. Many participants left the hall with the conviction that the Union of the Individual and Collective Companies, which was to be founded on the following day at the People's Palace of Culture, could propose a better charter. The differences, as summarized by Dobromir Gushterov, chairman of the initiative committee, are over the fact that all people engaged in the companies are members of the "Revival" Union, while citizens' companies, uniform collectives, associations, and some collectives that work on the basis of Decree 56 will be members of the union formed on Friday [22 December].

The meeting on 21 December became a constituent congress, which adopted a draft charter and a program declaration that was handed to the chairman of the National Assembly. A National Control Committee was elected. Professor Boris Dimitrov is its interim chairman.

The meeting of the companies' representatives, which took place on 22 December at the People's Palace of Culture, formed its own trade-credit bank, seated in Sofia, with a constituent capital of 10 million leva and 10,000 shares, valued at 1,000 leva each.

BCP Daily Denies Return of Membership Cards

AU0901164990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jan 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Nikolay Kosev, deputy head of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee's Organizational Department by unidentified reporter; date and place not given: "Is It True That 'Thousands' of Communists Are Returning Their Membership Cards?"]

[Text] Is it true that thousands of Communists have handed in their membership cards? Is our newspaper not misinforming the public by recently reporting mainly on newly accepted Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] members? Perhaps not so many people are willing to join the party? Such letters are frequently sent to our editorial board, and readers are asking similar questions on the telephone.

What is the truth about these rumors? Nikolay Kosev, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Organizational Department, answered our questions on the subject:

At the present moment, the BCP has 984,007 members.

The spreading of rumors in the capital and other towns of the country and the discussions between Communists and non-party people demand an objective briefing on the real state of affairs. The accelerated politization of our society and the actions adopted by the BCP, as a result of the 10 November 1989 events, actually increased the party's prestige and influence, which appears from the data of a representative investigation on party members in the Sofia Oblast and City party organization.

It was established that 492 people wishing to join the BCP ranks have submitted applications to primary party organizations in the primary party organizations of the Sofia City BCP Committee at the present stage. As as result of this, 204 members have been accepted in Sofia City for the 9 months of 1989. In the Plovdiv party organizations, there have been 678 applications and 166

members accepted for the same period of time, while Mikhaylovgrad reports 198 applications and 80 members accepted.

Following 10 November 1989, 107 members have dropped out of the party, been expelled, or handed in their membership cards in Sofia, and 3 people in Plovdiv; while in the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast Party organization, no one has been reported returning his membership card during the period under review.

The rumors about the return of 4,000, or even 20,000 party membership cards in the Mladost Municipal Party Organization in Sofia, which has only 5,939 party members, are untrue. The greatest number of party cards have been returned in the Sredets Municipality, which has 24,034 members, but only 21 such cases have been reported, which is 0.09 percent.

The incoming information and the briefings from oblast and municipal party committees express the greatly intensified increased desire of people to join the party. The number of applications is increasing and the petitions of expelled party members for the restoration of their membership have also increased. We expect the process of accepting party members to be intensified in the pre-congress days, as a result of which we have already provided the necessary organizational conditions in primary party organizations and local party committees.

New Komsomol Leader Views League's Future

AU2312184289 Sofia BTA in English
1703 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA)—My personal opinion is that the term "Communist" should be dropped from the name of the Youth Union, and it must develop as a unified youth organization, said at a press conference Rosen Karadimov, first secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DKMS). The question whether the youth union will be called communist or not will be discussed at the congress of the union which will be convened in the beginning of the next year.

The congress will adopt decisions concerning the future of the DKMS, whether it will be a unified organization or a federation of different youth organizations. Unity on this question is still lacking among the leadership of the union at present.

Till the present the young people were always promised the future; now we must demand our present at this congress, said Rosen Karadimov. The future platform of the union must include mostly all-human values. The ideas and the aims which will be spread by the youth organization should be communist ones. The DKMS must free itself of the unnecessary showiness in its activity.

Yovchev Signs Computer Agreement With USSR

AU2312220189 Sofia BTA in English
1856 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA)—An agreement for development and deepening of the techno-scientific cooperation in 1990 was signed here today between the governments of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. The document reflects the opportunities for industrial cooperation and specialization in the sphere of microelectronics and computer technology.

It envisages to activate the direct relations between Bulgarian and Soviet organizations and companies in the deliveries of computer technology, communication equipment, electronic products, special technological equipment, and program products.

Mincho Yovchev, minister of industry and technologies, and Boris Tolstykh, chairman of the USSR State Committee of Computer Technology and Informatics, stressed that the joint efforts will be oriented toward satisfaction of the needs of both countries for mictroelectronics, computer and communication technologies, as well as toward export to third countries.

Red Cross Reports on Aid to Romania

AU1101204890 Sofia BTA in English
2022 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Red Cross informed that 165 trucks with goods of immediate necessity of about 1.2 million leva have been sent for Romania from this country.

The Bulgarian Red Cross and the "Childhood" Fund answer to the numerous requests from citizens that the Romanian Red Cross does not envisage adoption of orphaned children abroad.

Angel Dimitrov Meets Afghan Agrarian Leader

AU1101195290 Sofia BTA in English
1928 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and vice president of the State Council, today received Mr Mahbubullah Koshani, leader of the Toilers' Revolutionary Organization of Afghanistan (TROA) and deputy prime minister, who took part in the 45th session of the CMEA [CEMA] as an observer.

During the talks a shared desire was expressed for the promotion of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Afghanistan.

Turkey's President Greets Mladenov

AU1601194490 Sofia BTA in English 1727 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, has received a cable from Mr Turgut Ozal, president of Turkey. Overflying the territory of Bulgaria en route to the United States, the Turkish president sends personal greetings and best wishes to the president of Bulgaria.

The cable expresses sincere wishes for better mutual understanding and good neighbourly relations to the mutual benefit of Turkey and Bulgaria.

Further on Foreign Minister's Visit to Greece

AU1101151390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] At the end of the visit to Greece by Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov, we received another report from our special correspondent Martin Minkov.

[Begin Minkov recording] In a statement to journalists after the end of the working meeting in Athens, the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey, Boyko Dimitrov and Andonios Samaras, respectively, highly assessed its importance in further strengthening and expanding relations.

The talks we conducted confirmed the excellent relations between the two countries, Andonios Samaras pointed out. It is well known that Greece warmly greeted the radical changes and restructuring in all spheres of life in friendly Bulgaria, the Greek foreign minister emphasized. Agreement on all matters discussed was noted.

I would like to point out the unreserved support for Bulgaria expressed by the Greek side, including on the issue of developing relations between Bulgaria and the EEC.

From a response to a question that was asked, it became clear that the Bulgarian side informed the hosts about the results of the meeting in Kuwait. Mr. Samaras expressed confidence in the development of honest and special relations with friendly Bulgaria.

For me it is especially important, Minister Boyko Dimitrov pointed out, that from the very first words we exchanged with Mr. Samaras, we found a common language. Relating the profound changes in Bulgaria to the country's foreign policy, Bulgaria's foreign affairs minister stressed that our foreign policy preserves the continuity in everything positive that has been achieved until now. In this context, relations with Greece will continue to be an example of good-neighborly relations. They preserve their stabilizing importance for the general situation in the Balkans.

Within several hours, the foreign affairs minister and the officials who are accompanying him will depart for Bulgaria, after very intensive and useful diplomatic activity that lasted several days. This was the expression of a new spirit in our foreign policy. [end recording]

Situation of Bulgarians in Libya Viewed

AU0901181290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Filip Ishpekov, Bulgarian ambassador to Libya, by RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Boryana Buchvarova on 3 January in Sofia: "Hunger Strike In ... Libya"]

[Text] Our readers asked whether it is true that the Bulgarian medical employees in Libya have announced a hunger strike. Boryana Buchvarova, RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter, talked yesterday [3 January] with Filip Ishpekov, former Bulgarian ambassador to Libya, who returned to Bulgaria.

[Ishpekov] There are about 1,500 Bulgarian medical specialists in Libya, Comrade Ishpekov said. They are there on the basis of group contracts between Libya's Public Health Secretariat and our Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare. Their work there has been repeatedly and highly praised. Recently, difficulties emerged because of the fact that the Libyan side does not conscientiously implement its obligations in anything related to everyday life and housing services, and to the timely issue of visas.

We raised the issues several times in a responsible manner. As a result, the wages were increased, but by an unsatisfactory percentage. Some of the issues were resolved only under the new situation that emerged, among them—the 13th salary, housing allowance, and reducing the administrative personnel of "Medeksim" in Tripoli. The achievements should not be underestimated. I am far away from the thought that those people do not deserve them. The conditions under which they work really are not good. Therefore, we supported the basic part of their demands, that were addressed at our higher party and state organs. We still differ in the more general assessment.

[Buchvarova] What issues remained unresolved?

[Ishpekov] The issue of labor wages is being clarified. The issue of the unjust percentage ratio between the share of the state and the share of the individual employee has long been a pressing matter. However, this issue cannot be resolved by a single organization. The issue of foreign currency transfer is also a disputed matter. It is inappropriate that only 50 percent of the foreign currency can be transferred, while for other categories of workers it is about 80 percent.

We handed the Libyan side a note, which says that under the present conditions the Bulgarian side is not ready to renew the contracts that expire on 31 March. If cooperation is to continue, it must be placed on a new basis,

namely, either on the basis of individual contracts, or on the basis of resolving the open questions I mentioned earlier.

[Buchvarova] Is it true that about 50 people are striking now, as the Bulgarian Radio reported?

[Ishpekov] I know that there is a decision to strike; however, at the moment, the embassy in Libya does not have precise information. I do not know any other grounds than the wages; however, I do not think that now is the moment to strike, or that this is an appropriate manner in which to act.

Swedish Government Delegation Visits Kurdzhali

AU1001214190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] A Swedish Government delegation led by Bo Sjelforsk, ambassador at the Ministry of Labor, paid a visit to the town of Kurdzhali.

At a meeting with the Kurzhali Municipal People's Council, Dimitur Bodganov, chairman of the council's Executive Committee, briefed the visitors on the dynamic processes in Bulgaria during the last 2 months and on the specific political situation in Kurdzhali.

The members of the delegation met and had talks with a representatives of the town's Committee for Civic Unity, after which they visited the village of Shiroko Pole and had frank conversations with the local inhabitants.

Delegation leader Bo Sjelforsk stated: The members of the delegation and I were given a very warm reception in Kurdzhali, where we obtained candid information. I would like to state once again that we are pleased by the democratic processes that have started in Bulgaria.

Mladenov Receives Letter From UK's Thatcher

AU1201162790 Sofia BTA in English 1544 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, has received a letter from Mrs Margaret Thatcher, prime minister of Britain, who welcomes and wishes success to the Bulgarian leadership's plans for political and economic reforms.

Mrs Thatcher reaffirms the readiness expressed by the EC countries to resume this month the negotiations between Bulgaria and the European Community. She writes that the British Government agrees to the prompt formation of a commission to consider Bulgaria's application for accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The hope is expressed that the progress of the reforms will allow Bulgaria to assume the obligations arising from a GATT membership.

Mladenov Meets Portuguese Legislators

AU1201222190 Sofia BTA in English 2059 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 12 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, today received a Portuguese Parliamentary delegation led by Mr Vitor Crespo, president of the Assembly of the Republic.

The guests were familiarised with the vigorous process of reform in Bulgarian society. Particular attention was paid to the pluralism unfolding in political life, to the free and democratic parliamentary elections due to be held this year.

The prospects for the promotion of bilateral cooperation also figured prominently in the discussion. It was stressed that there are considerable untapped opportunities for its extension in the economic field. An emphasis was laid on the role of Bulgaria and Portugal as two small European countries which can contribute to the assertion of the spirit of understanding and peaceful cooperation on the continent.

Spokesman on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD1701123490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] According to Lubos Dubrovsky, spokesman of the federal foreign ministry, the most important result of the first round of Czechoslovak-Soviet talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is the agreement of both sides that the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is the ultimate aim of the talks. The Czechoslovak delegation set the end of 1990 as a definite date for the withdrawal, while a considerable part of the military forces—that is more than a half—should be withdrawn before the elections.

The spokesman also said that the Soviet delegation has not expressed views on the timetable proposed by us because it has to hold consultations on it.

Lubos Dubrovsky said that the atmosphere at the talks was constructive. He expressed the conviction that both sides would find mutually acceptable solutions as soon as possible. He noted that the Soviet side is willingly supplying the necessary information on the troops. He also confirmed that President Vaclav Havel's visit to the Soviet Union would surely be closely connected with the questions discussed on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country.

CSSR, USSR Deputy Premiers View Pact

AU1701085990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jan 90 p 7

[Unattributed CTK report]

[Text] Yesterday in Sofia, Frantisek Reichel, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development, held a meeting with Nikolay Saviorov [spelling of name as published], deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology.

The Soviet representative expressed his agreement with the view of F. Reichel that the current system of scientific-technical cooperation is unwarrantable, bureaucratic, and unnecessarily complicated. They agreed that it is necessary to reappraise the current complex program for scientific and technical advancement and to concentrate only on those spheres that are really beneficial to the economies of participating countries. They concluded that bilateral cooperation is more suitable than multilateral cooperation.

F. Reichel also met yesterday with Victor Stanculescu, Romanian economy minister. They agreed to extend Czechoslovak humanitarian aid to Romania and also on specific issues concerning economic assistance.

Dobrovsky Comments on New Ties With USSR

AU1601205490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 90 p 1

[Jiri Roskot report: "Talks on Departure of Troops on 15 January"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—At a news conference in Prague on Tuesday [9 January], Lubos Dobrovsky, the new press spokesman for the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, called on the information media to share in the shaping of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy by voicing critical views. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the president's New Year's address, in which the president did not speak about Czechoslovak relations with the USSR, L. Dobrovsky said that if Czechoslovakia enters the European context as a sovereign state it must do so without any special relations with the great powers—and the USSR is a superpower. For 40 years our relations have been specific compared to those with other states. A great deal of political skill and tact will be required for them to become normal. This attitude of the president is not an act of retaliation against the USSR. L. Dobrovsky said that the CSSR will not establish separate contacts with the Soviet Union's republics. [passage omitted]

Soviet Troops Cause Pollution in Slovakia

LD1701122190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Members of the Soviet Army have been allocated almost 2,000 apartments in the central Slovak region, but they themselves have built only 300 apartments in Zvolen. Despite the fact that the troops were ordered to observe the law on protection of the environment, the law has often been violated. For example, as a result of the unsuitable way in which used oils were handled an area near Zvolen and the River Hron were polluted. Further accidents were caused in Ruzomberok when waste water was released from an internal system to the public sewer system. Poor storage and handling of fuels at Sliac airport meant that surface and underground waters were polluted.

Soviet Garrison Suspected of Water Pollution

AU2912173789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Illegal Facilities in a Soviet Garrison?"]

[Text] Vysoke Myto—A grave suspicion of accident-induced pollution of subterranean waters, as well as the endangering of the sole source of drinking water for Vysoke Myto, was the reason for two meetings in the course of a single week. In this way the Civic Forum got brought under public control the whole matter, which is a consequence of a long-lasting infringement of laws, regulations, and norms.

The fuel depots of the Soviet garrison in Vysoke Myto are the target of citizens' sharp criticism. They were allegedly built in 1975-78 without a building permit and without the permission of the water-economy authorities. Documentation is also lacking. Further irregularities have also been ascertained.

The Czech Water Economy Inspectorate in Hradec Kralove, together with the department of the water and forestry economy of the district national committee in Usti nad Orlici, demand the elimination of the absolutely unsuitable depot, because it encroaches on the zone of the hygienic protection of the water source for Vysoke Myto. Therefore, the water economy body of the district national committee has ordered the drilling of test holes which are to ascertain the contamination of the subterranean waters and soil with diesel oil. Further measures will be taken in accordance with the results of the drilling.

Carnogursky Discusses Temelin, Gabcikovo

AU1701092190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 90 p 14

[Unattributed CTK report: "Apropos Temelin and Gabcikovo"]

[Text] Vienna— Jan Carnogursky, CSSR first deputy premier, stated at a news conference in Vienna that the new Czechoslovak Government will "in the meantime continue" work on the Temelin nuclear power plant.

However, he added that the government has not yet had time to draft its point of view on the utilization of the nuclear power plant. Nevertheless, in this issue the CSSR is in a dilemma because coal fired power plants destroy forests.

He also said that the Gabcikovo power plant on the Danube will be put into operation since it is practically completed. However, the CSSR Government will inaugurate talks with the Hungarian Government, which halted construction of a parallel plant in Nagymaros, on whether to withdraw from the project certain supplementary facilities damaging to the environment.

Officials on Temelin, Soviet Withdrawal, Germans

AU1101103990 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 11 Jan 90 p 2

[Kurt Seinitz report: "CSSR Nuclear Power Plant at Temelin Will Probably Be 'Halved'!"]

[Text] Prague—The disputed CSSR nuclear power plant construction project "Temelin" ("CSSRnobyl") near the Austrian border will probably be "halved." Probably only two reactors will be built instead of the planned four reactors. As a result Temelin would at least lose the monster dimensions of the Soviet disaster power plant of Chernobyl.

In addition, the completion of reactors one and two in Temelin will be delayed because of changed investment planning and difficulties with subcontractor parts. Furthermore, safety measures are to be applied in line with Western standards.

"What Is Not Ecological Is Not Economical"

In an interview with NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG, CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that this new variety of Temelin is "likely," even though no final decision have been made concerning the energy policy considerations and analysis of the new government, which has been in office for only 3 weeks.

Said Foreign Minister Dienstbier in the interview with NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG: "It is, however, certain—and I can already say this now—that the overall trend is running counter to these giganto-maniacal projects. Also, we will proceed from the principle: What is not ecological is not economical, either."

Deputy Premier for Economic Affairs Valtr Komarek thinks that the energy policy situation is one of the most difficult tasks in the CSSR. The process of transformation of the energy-devouring economy is a protracted process and the new democratic government does not want to bring about the sort of conditions that used to exist in Romania: cuts in electricity, light, and heating. Several varieties of solutions are being worked on.

Complete Withdrawal of the Russians from the CSSR and Hungary?

A high-ranking official in the CSSR Foreign Ministry confirmed in a talk with NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG that it is assumed that the Soviet troops will leave the CSSR quickly by the end of the year. This is demanded by the CSSR since the basis of the presence of the troops—the 1968 invasion—was recently condemned by the Warsaw Pact itself in Moscow.

The complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary is also expected to be accelerated, and in Poland only the Soviet troop connection with East Germany is to remain "occupied."

Moral Guilt in Expulsion of Germans

In the interview with NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG CSSR Foreign Minister Dienstbier affirmed the admission of the new Prague leadership of its moral responsibility for the expulsion of the Germans from the Sudeten region and the cruelties committed at that time. A corresponding statement by President Havel has caused a heated debate among the CSSR public.

Dienstbier on Sudeten Germans, Reparations

AU1501142390 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 13 Jan 90 pp 4-5

[Kurt Seinitz report on interview with CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in Prague; date not given: "Historic Chance for Reconciliation"]

[Text] One of the last taboos and darkest chapters in European history of our century, namely the expulsion of more than 2 million and the killing of more than 100,000 Sudeten Germans in the postwar CSSR, has become the first test for domestic policy in the new democratic CSSR. Many of these expellees found a new home in Austria, and during the so-called "death march" of ethnic Germans from Brno to Lower Austria thousands of people, including women and children, were killed.

In the face of the dreadful Nazi crimes against the Czechs and Slovaks, for many years the opinion prevailed that in 1945 matters had been cleared up. Still, can two wrongs make a right? The new moralists in the CSSR leadership provide a clear answer: "No!" Following the "rule based on lies" of the Communist Party, they now want to "speak the truth" in politics. They are firmly determined to make this principle prevail.

NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG staffer Kurt Seinitz discussed the current developments in the "Sudeten question" with CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in the Foreign Ministry in Prague.

— Negative statements in the CSSR concerning the new approach to this matter. Dienstbier: "In many cases, the criticism is based on misunderstandings. This results partly from the fact that in the CSSR the German question has often been misused for political purposes. Whenever the ruling power felt threatened, it began anew to speak of German revanchism. This means that for 40 years it was impossible to discuss the German question in a normal way in the CSSR. When people started to talk about the ethical responsibility of the Czechs and Slovaks for the resettlement and the course this action took, those forces, some of whom had themselves become victims of their own old propaganda, began to apply the old demagogic tricks, as if the CSSR border was threatened or as if the CSSR had to make reparation payments. I am firmly convinced that in our society fear can be removed simply through more information. Proof of this is the case of the hunger striker who, following a talk with the president, ended his hunger strike."

"Despite the criticism, I believe that this is what we have to do, if the new policy, which is based on truth, is to make sense. Moreover, I believe that our citizens, who have proved that politically they are highly cultured, do not have sufficient information. If they get this information, they will adopt the necessary attitude."

—Chronology of the question of Sudeten Germans: "It did not begin in 1945, but in 1938. At that time, the majority of Sudeten Germans called for separation from Czechoslovakia and, following the Munich Agreement, half-a-million Czech citizens were mercilessly expelled from Sudetenland. The expulsion of 1945 has to be seen in this context. It was encouraged by President Benes, supported by all parties, and tolerated by the victorious powers."

"If we raise this issue today, then the reason is that, fundamentally, we applied the same principle, the principle of collective guilt, which is an immoral principle. It affected people who had nothing to do with Sudeten German politics. Since atrocities were committed in the course of the expulsion, it is now our duty to assume ethical responsibility, even if only for the purpose of historical truth."

—The future: "In the joint European home, we now have the historic opportunity to remove the last taboos and to announce reconciliation. What is most important is the future, and therefore it is necessary to remove a blank spot in history by common efforts. In my talks with [Austrian Foreign Minister] Mr Mock, with Mr Genscher, and even in the GDR, I agreed to establish a joint historians' commission, and maybe even a commission of legal experts."

—Demands for reparations by associations of Sudeten Germans? "Our position is clear. In the course of history the borders were shifted several times by force, which was always accompanied by cruelties. We have a moral guilt, because of the level and the course of the resettlement. However, the moral guilt applies above all to those who supported the destruction of our republic in 1938. We must stop putting the blame on each other, because what we need is mutual understanding for the future."

If we were now to start arguing about who has to pay the other side for certain things, then we could say that we are making one another pay for the past 50 years. After all, the fact that Hitler destroyed the European system produced the nonsensical bipolar Europe after the war, and the CSSR, which before the war was one of the highly developed countries of the world, is now in a very bad state. Therefore, any discussion of reparations would assume an absurd scale. "

CPCZ Stand in Sudetan German Debate Attacked

AU1601111090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 6 Jan 90 pp 1,3

[R. Stroebinger commentary: "Communists, the Transfer, and Human Rights"]

[Excerpts] One thing has to be conceded to the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist propagandists: They are champions in the demagogic "explanation" of historical phenomena. This is the case also at present when they misuse for their propaganda purposes, on the one hand, our nations' justified feeling of pride in the national liberation

struggle against the Nazi occupation and, on the other, the discussion on the transfer of the Sudeten German population.

What is the reality? What were Czechoslovak Communists doing when the "greatest mass murderer in history," as Soviet historian Afanasyev called Stalin, toasted the successes of "fuehrer" Adolf Hitler and congratulated him on the defeat of France? Gottwald, Slansky, and Kopecky were attacking Czechoslovak democrats in exile and insulting them as "lackeys of Western capitalists." Czechoslovak soldiers on foreign fronts were regarded by them as "mercenaries in the services of the big capital" and Communists who were in the West were not allowed to join foreign troops. Vlado Clementis, one of the few to criticize this, paid with his life for it. [passage omitted] And how did Communists reward the heroes of resistance? [passage omitted] Many of them—let us only recall the names M. Horakova, General H. Pika, People's Party Deputy Z. Broj—ended up before the firing squad.

No, a party which treated the heroes of resistance like this, which cast dirt on their memory and destroyed their families, has no moral right to invoke these victims.

And the transfer? True, the decision on it was made by the four victorious powers of World War II at Potsdam. But it is we who must come to terms with many ugly phenomena which accompanied the transfer. Dozens of interpellations by democratic deputies in the National Assembly in the years 1945-46 testify to their existence. They were discussed in Peroutka's [journal] DNESEK and in People's Party's OBZORY. [passage omitted] That which happened in Usti, Prague, Olomouc, Brno, and at other places simply should not have happened. It was something which was at variance with human rights and with the dignity of man. [passage omitted]

Christian humanism, which we profess, grants forgiveness to the one who regrets his wrongdoings. It is in forgiveness and compassion that the greatness of the individual and of nations lies.

When Communists now demagogically misuse these yardsticks of human values in order to stir up emotions and distrust of the young democracy, this only furnishes evidence that they still have not learned from their own past, that a face of brutality, violence, and lies is still hidden behind the mask of promised renewal.

Cardinal Tomasek Statement on Deportation Issue

AU1701083990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 12 Jan 90 pp 1,4

[Unattributed CTK report: "Viewpoint of Cardinal Tomasek"]

[Text] Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague and Czech primate, has issued the following viewpoint to the press:

Recently, CSSR President Vaclav Havel issued his personal apology to the citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic who were deported from the state's territory after the end of the World War II. The apology concerns the grievances and suffering which many of them experienced from the Czech side. I welcome the president's noble statement as an important step toward resolving the relationship between the Czech and German nations. This is a problem that for 40 years has remained under the surface of propaganda and prejudice on both sides.

Now, a historic moment has come when it is possible to create a region of peace and cooperation out of the free and liberated nations of Europe. We know how closely this matter lies to the heart of Holy Father John Paul II. However, we must put something substantial into the foundations of our common European home, something that the gospels have brought us and something, in concurrence with the president, that we can express with the slogan "Truth and love will free us".

It is not my task to resolve difficult international problems, but I must say a few important words about the emotions that have been aroused, emotions from which even believing Christians are not immune.

First of all, I want to express my complete understanding of our profound sadness and bitterness at the more than 6 years of cruel suppression during the Nazi occupation, suppression with its many victims and under the threat of the nation's extinction. The Czech nation rightly expects an apology for all of this from the German nation's official spokesmen, although the succeeding states had no part in this.

However, justice demands that we, Czechs, do not induce the unhealed pain of our former fellow citizens and their children. Many of those 3,000,000 were able to leave in peace, but many experienced harsh treatment, even tyranny, which not all of them survived. At the same time, not only Germans who were really reprehensible but also those who had a good relationship with Czechs and who had even been active opponents of Hitler's regime fell victim to vengefulness.

It is true that those who carried out this revenge were rather dubious members of the Czech nation, often collaborators, who wanted to obliterate their activity in the opposite direction. These illegal and inhuman acts remain a stain on our national honor. This will not be wiped out by silence or by referring to the wrongdoing inflicted on us, but by an objective recognition of the whole truth and by distancing ourselves from our own guilt. This is the purpose of the apology, even though, instead of by the guilty party, it has often to be expressed by truly honest people who are concerned about morality and the nation's honor.

I want to mention that at that time, but also later, Czech criticism was made of the circumstances surrounding the deportation; such criticism was made recently by the theologian Josef Zverina. On the other hand, in the 1940's some Catholics—for example, the theologian

Paulus Sladek—reminded the expelees that their suffering had its primary cause in the wrongdoing inflicted on the Czechs by the Germans and led them to penance and forgiveness. The Christian commandment of justice for everyone and of love, which overcomes base hatred, must also be inherent in us if we as a nation do not want to lose our stature as a cultured nation. Morally sensitive people also understand this to be a plea from their own conscience.

I am convinced that Christians, first and foremost, and the Catholic Church in Central Europe, in particular, have their own role in removing mental barriers between nations. This is borne out by the joint statement issued by Polish and German bishops in 1965. I want to strive for a similar statement on mutual willingness to understand, forgive, and establish friendships as soon as the Czech bishop's conference is established.

The heart of Europe, from which hatred has spilled over into wartime murder several times in history, should now begin to beat to the rhythm of friendship. Why should we not attempt to establish a model of good coexistence for the whole of Europe? Two years ago, this idea inspired me to address a mission to the bishops' conferences in some way or another associated with the life of my holy predecessor Vojtech (Adalbert). Besides personal contacts and cooperation, I also proposed that a study center be set up. By means of the joint efforts of experts, let the truth be clarified and liberate us from everything lamentable in the past. Let us link with the values that have evolved from the common Christian roots of European history and modern civilization and let us have a single ambition: To transcend the latter while establishing a civilization of love.

Dienstbier on Polish-Czechoslovak Integration

AU1701110290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jan 90 p 7

[Interview with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Katarzyna Karzynska; date and place not given: "Without Prejudice and Without Emotion"]

[Text] [Karzynska] How do you see the development of future Polish-Czechoslovak relations?

[Dienstbier] We are neighbors, and we have a joint history. We have a long tradition of good relations. Of course, our thousand-year-old history has its dark moments too. We now have the best opportunity to give a positive shape to our cooperation and development, which will further our joint interests.

[Karzynska] Do you believe that we have been able to forget our mutual prejudices?

[Dienstbier] I would say not so much forget, but to me it seems important that we should not make the same old mistakes again.

[Karzynska] Some Poles think that the Czechs regard us with a certain lack of enthusiasm, because they fear that a rapprochement with Poland will burden them with Polish problems.

[Dienstbier] No, this purported lack of enthusiasm is simply not true. It is incontrovertible, however, that we have to change the principles of our economic cooperation and put it on a realistic basis. Hitherto, we have talked about friendship and fraternal relations. The economic sphere leaves a lot to be desired, although, to be fair, not all that we jointly undertook in the past was bad. For example, our sole window on the world—here I am thinking of our access to the port of Szczecin—was the basis of close and good cooperation in many spheres.

Thus, if our two countries wish to shape their mutual relations on a different and higher plane of modern technology and economics, we also have to base our cooperation on modern principles.

[Karzynska] In your opinion what are the factors that inclined Vaclav Havel, the new president of Czechoslovakia, to make his initial visit to the GDR and the FRG?

[Dienstbier] President Havel had several reasons for doing so. I will mention two of the most important ones. First, Manfred Gerlach, the GDR head of state visited Havel when Havel was an ordinary and private citizen, 2 weeks before Havel was elected president. It is understandable that Havel should repay the visit when he became president. The second reason was the great event which took place in the GDR, namely, the breaching of the Berlin Wall, and Havel wished to go to that place which for so long symbolized the division of Europe.

[Karzynska] What about the visit to the FRG?

[Dienstbier] The Munich visit was a gesture of politeness toward Richard von Weizsaecker, the FRG president. Weizsaecker went to Frankfurt on 15 October 1989 for the presentation of the peace prize which the Association of German Publishers awarded to Vaclav Havel. Havel was not able to collect the prize in person because he was refused a passport. For this reason, President Weizsaecker went to Frankfurt to be present at the ceremony.

[Karzynska] What is your attitude to closer integration of the countries of central and Eastern Europe?

[Dienstbier] My view is that we should not try to create a new small Europe. We cannot proceed toward a European home by creating a new block. We support cooperation between all countries. It is evident that Polish-Czechoslovak cooperation ought to be closer, for the reason that this is a step in the direction of creating a large European home and to overcome differences which still divide us from the real Europe. This is also important.

U.S. Dollar To Help Set Up CSSR Exchange

AU1701105990 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Stock Exchange in CSSR"]

[Text] Prague—The American AMERIGUIDE Inc. trade company, consisting of prominent investors, entrepreneurs, tradespeople, production people, and others, has set up a U.S.$100-million investment fund to help establish a Czechoslovak stock exchange. At the same time the fund should aid the CSSR's economic advancement and help develop joint Czechoslovak-American ventures in all branches of the economy. A total of 100 million stocks have been issued—half of them for U.S. investors, and half to be sold on the free market in the CSSR. The stocks will be issued in three categories and sold in our currency at a floating rate, according to the official rate of exchange of the U.S. dollars against the KCS. The AMERIGUIDE Inc. joint stock company enjoins all individuals, collectives, cooperatives, enterprises, and other organizations interested in becoming members to register at the following address: AMERIGUIDE Inc., 9509 North Federal Highway, Pampano Beach, Florida, U.S.A. 33062.

ROK Group Arrives for Talks on Diplomatic Ties

Holds Talks

LD1601000190 Prague CTK in English 2128 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 15 (CTK)—Talks between delegations of the Czechoslovak and South Korean Foreign Ministries on the establishment of diplomatic relations and development of bilateral cooperation, especially in the economy, opened here Monday.

"The Czechoslovak side is interested in ending these negotiations by signing a protocol on the establishment of diplomatic relations", head of a Foreign Ministry department Gustav Smid told CTK today adding than an agreement on this issue should be signed by the two countries' foreign ministers within several months.

He added that Czechoslovakia wants to develop mutually advantageous cooperation with South Korea and contribute also to a dialogue in the Korean peninsula, to peaceful reunification of the two Korean states.

Ladislav Dobrovolny from the Ministry of Foreign Trade stressed the necessity of using the possibilities the South Korean market offers in exchange of Czechoslovakia's exports of mainly engineering products and selected articles of consumer goods, and the possibilities of purchase and other forms of industrial, scientific and technological cooperation with South Korean firms, mainly in electronics, biotechnology and ecology.

Protocol on Relations

LD1601170890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Czechoslovakia and the Republic of Korea today initialed a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations. They will be established when this protocol is signed by the foreign ministers of the two countries in the coming months. In this connection Minister Jiri Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia and South Korea are bonded by the efforts aimed at democratization, economic development, and opening up to the world. He noted the possibilities of cultural relations, the development of which was impossible for many years.

Havel Pays Tribute to Jan Palach 16 Jan

LD1601175890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] President Vaclav Havel laid flowers this afternoon at the St. Wenceslas memorial in Prague, on the spot where exactly a year ago he wanted to pay tribute to the memory of Jan Palach but was imprisoned for it.

The president was joined by the current and former press spokesman of Charter 77, representatives of Civic Forum, and the participants in the solemn ceremony on Palach Square, including guests from France headed by Yves Montand.

Our citizens have the whole day been covering the pedestal of the St. Wenceslas statue with flowers. Representatives of independent group of apprentices and students also brought wreaths of flowers.

Speaks at Commemoration Rally

LD1601203390 Prague CTK in English 1752 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 16 (CTK)—Tens of thousands of people met here today to commemorate the tragic death of Jan Palach, the 21-year old student of the Charles University Faculty of Philosophy who set himself on fire on January 16, 1969 in protest against the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of five Warsaw Pact countries.

The rally was addressed by President Vaclav Havel who recalled last year's laying of flowers at the St. Wenceslas statue in Prague's Wenceslas Square on the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's immolation. He was arrested shortly after this commemorative act which gave rise to a huge wave of solidarity. "I had a feeling that after twenty years Jan Palach's great sacrifice—the absolute sacrifice—was starting to acquire a new sense. At that time it was just my feeling, today it is my certainty. I believe that what Jan Palach longed for and dreamed about is now opening up before us. It is up to us whether it will come true," Vaclav Havel said.

Attending the rally at the Jan Palach Square in front of the Charles University Faculty of Philosophy were members of the international committee in support of the Charta 77 Initiative from Paris. One of them, French actor Yves Montand handed over to representatives of the students' professional union the Jan Palach prize. "In the past years the prize used to be awarded to those who were expellees in their own country, among them to Vaclav Havel. It is now for the first time that the prize can be presented directly in Prague," Yves Montand said.

At the close of the rally, Czech sculptor Olbram Zoubek handed over to students the death mask of Jan Palach which will become the basis for a bronze memorial tablet to be placed on the facade of the Faculty of Philosophy.

Later in the day, President Vaclav Havel laid a bunch of flowers at the St. Wenceslas statue in Prague's Wenceslas Square, together with present and former spokesmen for the Charta 77 Initiative, representatives of the Civic Forum and participants in the commemorative rally at the Jan Palach Square including guests from France headed by Yves Montand. The pedestal of the statue was covered with hundreds of flowers laid there by youth, students and Prague inhabitants.

Hegenbart Discusses 17 Nov Events

AU1301192090 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 9 Jan 90 p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Havlicek and Rostislav Rod: "Deviated Focal Point of Life; R. Hegenbart About M. Jakes: 'Stepan and Urbanek Were His Horses'"]

[Text] In an effort to clarify some circumstances related to the events of 17 November on Narodni Trida in Prague and related to the summoning of People's Militia units to Prague during the night of 21-22 November, our newspaper has already given space on its pages to several former and current politicians. Toward the end of last week, in a small village near Zdar nad Sazavou where he lives, R. Hegenbart, former head of the 13th department of the CPCZ Central Committee, gave us an interview on this topic. Within the jurisdiction of the department were matters concerning the Chancellery of the President, the Office of the Federal Premier, the Arbitration Office, the Army, and the security forces. We publish the greater part of the word-for-word transcript of this interview (we only changed the word order at a few places) and refrain from any comment.

[Question] In the opinion of some journalists and foreign observers, you played the role of the "eminence grise" in connection with 17 November. Could you comment on this?

[Hegenbart] "I was damn lucky that on Monday and Tuesday (logically, this must refer to 13 and 14 November—authors' note)—but by that time everything had probably been timed—[Soviet ambassador] Lomakin wanted to go somewhere to the country, sit down in the evening, and chat about the party leadership. We went to Motorpal in Jihlava and to some agricultural cooperatives. So we spent these 2 days with him. On the same Monday and Tuesday, a delegation of the legal section of the Communist Party of Slovakia came to see me in Jihlava and then we went off to Bratislava and Trnava. I was not in Prague at all that week. I found out about that intervention—not that I did not know that there would be some sort of procession on the 17th and that some measures had been taken—only Tuesday (21 November—authors' note) night from Mr Heltr [not further identified] when we met secretly for dinner in the Little Quarter [part of Prague] so that no one would see us. He told me how terrible everything looked on television. Until then I had no idea that anything of that sort happened. On Monday [20 November] I asked to be shown the film, but they showed me a video about the Sunday [19 November] demonstration in Wenceslas Square. I still did not know what was happening. On Monday I went to Narodni Trida to have a look. There were kids there, of course, but I still did not understand what was going on. I was still convinced that it was all because of that student (the supposedly dead M. Smid—authors' note). I really had not been informed about it. I did not know anything about the existence of the [unit of red] berets [which cracked down on the demonstrators]. I had been at the 13th department for about a year and did not like it at all. Not even once did I attend the collegium of the minister of interior, I had not been to a single meeting of the staff or the collegium of the minister of defense, nor did I ever go to the head office of the prosecutor or the courts. Some factotums [poskoci] used to go there, I was preoccupied with something completely different. This reached its climax when at the 13th plenum on education, I indirectly spoke out against Jakes, that was the beginning of my distancing [from Jakes]. Then the article about the heart of Europe came out in IZVESTIYA—that was another checkmate. Then I wound up in hospital—by that time he already wanted to get rid of me [chtel me balit tam odsud]. I told Jakes: Don't do it, friend, it's no longer worth it."

[Question] People used to say that you are his "horse." You and Mohorita. Is that true?

[Hegenbart] "That was wrong. Stepan and Urbanek were his horses. Those were the horses. To the outside, he pretended that it was us but that was not true. And I think that even Mohorita could not be his horse, even though I never spoke to him about it. I doubt it."

[Question] Let us go back to 17 November.

[Hegenbart] "Radlice? [part of Prague] On the basis of my experience I think that it is Stepan's business. Power struggle. He thought that it would get him quickly to the top. He wanted to push out Jakes, who did not want to let him get up there. However, he did not take into account that the basis, the configuration, is a bit different and lost everything, in fact. He did not win either. I think that this is the focal point of life."

[Question] Instead of asking directly what he knows about the arrival of the People's Militia in Prague in the night from 21 to 22 November, we let R. Hegenbart read the letter of MLADA FRONTA chief editor Libor Sevcik (published on 4 January), in which he asked Karel Urbanek, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Control and Auditing Commission, for a clarification of those events (we published Karel Urbanek's reply yesterday). R. Hegenbart told us:

[Hegenbart] "I am curious what Urbanek will reply. I know exactly how it was with those militia units. At 1600 (on 21 November—authors' note) Jakes called me and Novak, the militia chief, and said: The Presidium will meet at 1800; let Novak prepare a proposal for summoning the militia to Prague so that they take control of the universities, theaters, crossroads, and what not. He was to turn up at the Presidium meeting at 1800. I was also supposed to come. I told myself: To hell with it, I won't be there. So I went up those stairs, thinking what to do. But then I got the saving idea. I told myself: For God's sake, I will offer an excuse. So I picked up the phone, called him, and said: Comrade general secretary, I have a visitor, the train will not leave until 2100 so I have to take him to dinner. Do excuse me, please. If you need something, call. And I quickly went home. By coincidence, I happened to have some visitors—friends from Bonn were here. So I was not there. At 2200, Kincl (former federal minister of interior—authors' note) called, asking what to do. I told him—why do you ask me? He said that the militia were on the way [to Prague] and he did not know anything. I said that he would have to ask the general secretary. At 0130 at night, Novak called me. He told me: I beg you, the militia are here, no one wants them, I do not know what to do with them. I said: And why do yu call me? You were sitting at the Presidium meeting, go and ask the general secretary. By 0230, I was in hospital because it all made me tremble."

[Question] But at the Presidium meeting Novak obviously had to give Jakes his consent....

[Hegenbart] "No one can give his consent except the militia commander and that is the general secretary. There is a hierarchy. No one has the right to meddle with it, not even the militia staff. He could ask the Central Committee Presidium to okay it, which he did. Well, all of them were probably sitting there, including Urbanek. I think that he was back by then (according to K. Urbanek's statement published in MLADA FRONTA on 4 January, he returned from Romania only on Wednesday, 22 November, at 0300—authors' note). Tuesday night Jakes spoke [on television]—it was a terrible speech. The next day Urbanek with the Czech committee (meant is the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic—authors' note) issued a statement that it [the police action against demonstrators] was all wonderful."

CPCZ Spokesman on Results of Roundtable Talks

AU1701093990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jan 90 p 1

["val"-signed report: "Replacement of Deputies"]

[Excerpt] Prague (from our correspondent)—[passage omitted] In the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Press Center we asked for the exact figures agreed upon [at the 11 January roundtable talks]. Josef Hora, the center's head, told us:

"At the meeting of the decisive political forces held on 11 January 1990, the CPCZ delegation informed the participants in the roundtable that, in harmony with deliberations of the Political Executive Committee of the CPCZ Central Committee, it reckons that the number of CPCZ's representatives in the Federal Assembly will decrease by 90 to 100 deputies, which includes the 22 deputies who surrendered their seats in December and have already been replaced. As Secretary Saling said at the roundtable talks, this step, which demonstrates the CPCZ Central Committee's approach to the political realities, should ensure the necessary prerequisites for the work of the highest legislative body.

"During the roundtable talks the CPCZ delegation also told the participants that—in addition to seats vacated for candidates of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement—it reckons with the candidacy of some new CPCZ functionaries for the Federal Assembly. As is known, the 6 January session of the CPCZ Central Committee approved the candidacy of Jiri Machalik, Zdenek Masopust, and Vasil Mohorita. The candidacy of other CPCZ members is being considered as well.

"In preparing for the reconstruction of the Federal Assembly the CPCZ proceeds from the premise that the political composition of the highest legislative body should correspondent to the distribution of political power in the CSSR and, at the same time, that the CPCZ should be represented in the Federal Assembly by deputies who are genuine representatives of the Communist Party's current policy."

Havel Appoints Fourth Presidential Adviser

AU1501131390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone" column]

[Text] CSSR President Vaclav Havel appointed [the Olympic champion in gymnastics] Vera Caslavska as his fourth adviser on Wednesday [10 January].

Czech Government Announces Ammnesty 15 Jan

LD1601132390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Here is an announcement by Milan Kasik, director of the Office of the Czech Government Press Department:

[Begin Kasik recording] The government of the Czech Socialist Republic [SR], on the basis of paragraph one of the governmental decree of the Czech National Council Presidium number 10 of this year, on 15 January granted the following amnesty in the cases of misdemeanors, the hearing of which comes under the authority of the Czech SR bodies:

Article 1: Condoned are measures imposed by a decision of competent bodies which have not yet been carried out or that have been left over from them for misdemeanors committed prior to January 1990.

Article 2: It is ordered that with regard to misdemeanors committed prior to 1 January 1990, proceedings should not start, and if they have already started they should be halted.

Article 3: The task is given to the minister of finances, prices and wages, to the minister of justice, to the minister of trade and tourism, and to the councils of the regional national committees and the Prague Council of the National Committee to secure that this decision is carried out by 15 January 1990 at the latest. [end recording]

Slovak Justice Minister on Amnesty, Crime

LD1401150690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Now we are going to broadcast a recording of a substantial part of this evening's session of the Slovak National Council. [passage omitted] Another point of agenda of today's 20th session of the Slovak National Council was a briefing on tackling the problems in the corrective training institutes in the Slovak Socialist Republic, which was delivered by Minister of Justice Ladislav Kosta.

[Begin Kosta recording] [passage omitted: the period beginning 19 December 1989 was a very difficult period, with many strikes and hunger strikes in Slovak prisons. Many demands were put forward by prisoners. The situation was rather critical in the Leopoldov prison on 5-6 January]

For your information I state that the amnesty resulted in the release of 7,402 sentenced and 367 accused people. This adds up to the release in Slovakia of 7,769 persons out of the original number of 11,838 sentenced and accused people.

For your information I would like to discuss given the public awareness, often also gained through mass media, of various cases when those who were pardoned in amnesty commit crimes. I would like to state that taking into account the number of those who were pardoned in the amnesty, I repeat 7,769 persons, to yesterday's date 27 crimes and 37 acts of hooliganism were committed.

We would be happy if not even one such case would have been registered but given a great number of those who were pardoned in the amnesty, the number, though awkward, is acceptable. [passage omitted: It was a difficult period but now it is over thanks to the effort of deputies, Public Against Violence members and others.]

We are aware of the fact that Slovakia holds almost a world record in a ratio between the size of its population and a number of those who were kept in prisons. In normal circumstances, I could say, about one third of those who are serving their terms would in another highly developed country be put on probation. [passage omitted: sentences were harsh in the past] [end recording]

New Leaders' 'Mistakes' Viewed

AU1501124790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jan 90 p 3

[Commentary by Julius Sluka, former PRAVDA staff journalist who "had to leave the editorial office after the so-called years of crisis": "Lest a Taste be Developed for Power (Again)"]

[Excerpts] In one of his books, Ladislav Mnacko impressively diagnosed how the Stalinist and post-Stalinist holders of power in our country relished their power. Let us not delude ourselves. Every government is susceptible to relishing power. [passage omitted]

We [illegible] beginning to write a new chapter of our history, new political forces and new people are assuming the leadership of the state. From the human point of view, it is understandable that this new and unexpected situation fills us with euphoria. Politically, however, euphoria never provides the best conditions for prudence. This is why, next to good measures, we, too, have committed a considerable number of mistakes. Let us recapitulate them:

1. From one day to the next, without any preparations and at breakneck speed, we opened the borders with Austria. We did not learn anything from a similar step by the Hungarian Government, which was then forced to save the situation as best it could. The new minister of finance described this step as tragic and the government, to resist the danger to the national economy, devalued the exchange rate of the koruna against Western currencies. In Bratislava we allowed newspaper vendors to rush into the streets with what is the worst in Austrian journalism—the tabloids KRONEN ZEITUNG and KURIER. Let the reader himself consider whether this has been the most badly needed "foreign exchange injection" for the recovery of our country.

2. Within the framework of the amnesty, all at once and without preparations we released two-thirds of our prisoners. On the one hand, we now have problems with their rampaging in our cities and with finding jobs for them and, on the other, production of Favorit cars, tractors, refrigerators, freezers, and other goods, which are in short supply anyhow, is now in jeopardy. I do not know whether it is precisely in this sphere that

humanism should manifest itself first and so quickly and abruptly. The first results testify to the opposite.

3. After the announcement in Bonn of Chancellor Kohl's plan for the speedy unification of Germany, without waiting for the all-European process of integration, panic broke out throughout our continent and in the United States. [passage omitted] After all, as the British GUARDIAN put it, this would be a "potentially deadly source of destabilization in European geopolitics, which are becoming unstable as it is." And precisely in this situation we come forward with some hazy declarations about the unification of Germany. And, on top of all this, we are given the advice that we should apologize to the Sudeten Germans. [passage omitted] We badly need an improvement of relations with the FRG, but is this the right start? Whom will it encourage? What will they come up with next? This is not the best recipe for how to speed up the process of all-European understanding. Only very recently, in the auditorium of the Bratislava Faculty of Engineering, did our university youth applaud a former deputy to the "Slovak Assembly" [the parliament of the Hitler-supported Slovak state during World War II] when he explained that the Slovak National Uprising had been the saddest chapter in Slovak history and President Tiso the most illustrious personality in it. [passage omitted]

4. On the posters of our "gentle revolution," students equated Stalin with Hitler. Indeed, they were both mass murderers. [passage omitted] Today, however, the Soviet state is headed by a politician who has diametrically changed not only the USSR's policy, but the course of world developments. [passage omitted] There is no major statesman who would not want to meet him. We have declared the improvement of relations with our neighbors to be the priority of our new foreign policy. One can only welcome this—this will be our best contribution to the building of the common European home. It is only a pity that our largest neighbor has somehow been getting lost of late. It is as if we did not realize that without Soviet perestroyka we would not have our "gentle revolution." Moreover, our economic links and interests must also be considered and the question of our security against the Teutonic sword is not negligible either.

My generation has experienced five upheavals in its lifetime. [passage omitted] They all had one thing in common—the political teams, office chiefs, factory directors, and often even workshop foremen were always exchanged. The worst thing, however, was that self-appointed personnel officers or, more accurately, self-appointed personnel mafias often had the main say. Ordinary but qualified people without strong elbows were the ones to pay most dearly for the changes, while extremist radicals, careerists, and plunderers won a place in the sun. Although I am a pensioner now, signals have reached me suggesting that even the present revolution will probably not avoid these dangers. No—I do not want to scare anyone, I just have personal experience which young people cannot have. Let us therefore get used to the fact that we can criticize—even the government. Let us learn democracy. Or does everyone have to experience everything at the expense of his own hide?

Havel Visits Brno 15 Jan

LD1501152290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1316 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] CSSR President Vaclav Havel arrived in Brno today. Jaroslav Hudec is ready there at the microphone with the following despatch:

[Hudec] I wish the listeners of Studio Seven good afternoon from Brno. This city has not exactly shown a pleasant face to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, but my assertion concerns only the weather and certainly not the people. The weather partially delayed the arrival of what, I must say, is a very impatiently expected guest. There was fog during his journey and thus Vaclav Havel merely apologized during his first stop at the Jan Evangelista Purkyne University for his delay. He spoke briefly with the newly elected vice-chancellor, Prof Milan Jelinek, during which the planned renaming of the university to its original name, the Masaryk University, was mentioned. The Czechoslovak president then left for the Mahen Theater for a meeting with students.

Regarding the renaming of the university, since its establishment, in 1919, it bore the name of the first Czechoslovak president, Tomas Garrique Masaryk, up to 1960.

Serious matters were discussed in the Mahen Theater. For the sake of brevity I will recall only some of them. Regarding the calls for a certain form of self-administration by Moravia, Vaclav Havel said that if Moravia feels wronged it should formulate its demands and push them through representative bodies. However, he pointed out that the main thing is not so much an administrative change but rather a change in the thinking of people. He added, with humor that he has around himself in the Castle a great many Moravians and that Moravia will have a dignified representation also in the preparation of the new state emblem.

Asked by students about the presence of Soviet troops in our republic, he said that he has prepared a concept which he wants to discuss and negotiate with Mikhail Gorbachev during his planned visit to the Soviet Union. This issue, however, is also connected with proposals to reduce national military service in our country with the view of maintaining a balance in Europe. This is an argument which the other side can allegedly employ. How successful I shall be I do not know, said Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, literally.

What is endearing, and perhaps already characteristic, is that the abovementioned humor was not absent. Not only did Vaclav Havel go, after the meeting, to a student canteen for lunch but because he complained at the outset of suffering from laryngitis saying that honey

would allegedly help, students managed to bring him a jar to the platform straight away during his discussion meeting with them.

At this moment Vaclav Havel is visiting workers of the First Brno Engineering Works. In the afternoon he is to address a rally at Svoboda Square in Brno.

Meets With Students

LD1501232890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1900 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel followed by question-answer session with President Havel; First Deputy Prime Minister Valtr Komarek; Petr Pithart, member of the Coordination Center of the Local Civic Forum in Prague; advisser Vera Caslavska; and university students at the Mahen Theater in Brno on 15 January—recorded]

[Text] [Havel] I thank professor Milan Jelinek, your rector, for his kind welcome, and I apologize to you again once more for several things: that we arrived late due to a traffic jam on the motorway where we had to slow down sometimes to a walking pace and also due to some other organizational problems; we held talks in Prague with an Austrian minister, etc.

We have little time because we have a full agenda and as is our good habit, we change it easily and appear where we are not expected so that they cannot get prepared. That is why we have, it seems, little time and the best thing would perhaps be if you just begin with your questions about what you are interested in.

Nevertheless, before you begin to ask me questions, I will introduce to you some of my colleagues who arrived with me. There is no need to introduce those from Brno because you know them.

Here is Petr Pithart [applause] in fact a member of the Coordination Committee, Coordination Center of the local Civic Forum in Prague. Jara Sabata you know. Your rector you know. Vera Caslavska, my adviser [applause]. Petr Oslzly who you probably know because he is from Brno and speaks a Brno dialect, [applause] but now he stays at the Castle. Sasa Vondra, another adviser, stands besides me [applause]. Ladislav Kantor stands besides him; you perhaps know him because his original job was a leader of the Red Cross but now he sets the president's program (applause). And Joska Skalnik, member of a Cultural Commission at the Castle [applause]—he helps to design new uniforms for Castle guards. (Richard Vagner), my economic adviser, stands besides me.

I must apologize for yet another thing: that I speak in such a hoarse voice. It is because I am always speaking somewhere and I am unable to get honey because my honey which was sent to me at the Castle is still being tested by my tasters [applause and laughing] [1 minute break in transmission]

[Unidentified moderator] Please your questions now. The man in red clothes over there, please. Kindly introduce yourselves.

[Podebral] I am Dan Podebral, I am a second year student of the Faculty of Law in Brno. Dear Mr President. I like you very much and I would like to ask you when a specific position of Moravia within Czechoslovakia will be taken into account?

[Havel] This is what is interesting, that everyone thinks that the president will do everything for them. Nevertheless, the president is no Ceausescu [laughter] who makes decisions about who will have how much freedom, independence, autonomy, or whatever. Moravia will have to win the fight for its identity and its dignified position in our country above all by its own effort.

The president will not be announcing from the Castle that a new federation of three countries instead of two is to be formed, will he? Moravia, above all, must make itself culturally independent, publish its own LIDOVE NOVINY—different from those in Prague and better than those in Prague—it must somehow renew its spiritual self-confidence. Brno has its own cultural traditions on which it can build very well and in time, it will certainly also win the fight for a, let us say, more dignified administrative position. But this bureaucratic side of the issue is the last thing: the first thing is the conscience as everything begins with it. And this cannot be done for you at the castle in Prague, though we have a lot of people from Moravia there and some speak in such a strong Moravian dialect, saying that they travel on salina [Moravian expression for streetcar instead of Czech tramvaj]

Perhaps to make you a bit happy after all, at least I can hint at one thing: that Moravia will be represented in a new state emblem in a dignified manner. [applause]

Nevertheless, it will be represented there in a dignified manner not because you have insisted on it now, but because the first state formation on this territory in which Slovaks, Czechs, and Moravians cohabited was the Great Moravian Empire. It is, in fact it seems, the most ancient state formation known to us—There are a number of professors here, so let them to correct me—in which our nations or ethnic groups which were a sort of predecessor to our nations, I would say, lived. And I think that this must at least be respected by our state emblem in some way.

[Unidentified speaker] I think it was pity that when our state was founded, it was not called Moravia.

[Havel, laughing] Maybe even Czech-Moravia-Slovakia.

[Unidentified moderator] Roman kvanda, please.

[Kvanda] Roman Kvanda, Arts Faculty. Mr President, I would like to ask a rather interesting question, which students have been interested in lately—especially after a recent visit by Roger Scruton to Brno and after his lecture on a state based on law. All of us wish to achieve

some kind of draft of a state based on law. I would like to ask if and when such situation is achieved, it could happen that the Czechoslovakia Communist Party, not as individuals but as a party, is put on trial?

[Havel] I think as we have a lawyer in our delegation, this is the question for a lawyer when we speak about a state based on law.

[Pithart] I think that we should give the Communist Party the chance to show us what it can do again under new conditions. I think that such dramatic action leads nowhere. I have known Roger Scruton for many years, but he has never said anything of the kind in my hearing before. I am a little surprised by it. I am of the opinion that it would not be the best solution.

[Havel] I would agree with Petr [2-1/2 minute break in reception]

[Havel, in progress] I also do not know who will be my successor. But I do know one thing, that I am rushed off my feet. Because people think that problems that were accumulating for 50, or in some cases 70 years, which were growing, ripening, can be solved in 2 days and that one person can solve them. There is so much work that I can't sleep because of it, and whether I will be president for a short time or a long time, in any case it is not an easy task and I don't wish it on you [the successor]. [applause]

[Unidentified moderator] Next question. Yes, go ahead...[45-second break in reception]

[Havel, in progress] It will be a long state visit, about 3 and ½ days I think, and we are not very eager to take loans. Rather, the whole economic team, headed by docent Komarek [first deputy premier], which will be part of the delegation, will hold talks on various levels and with businessmen and merchants about investment and so on, but on a principle of equality. Until our economy is capable of guaranteeing that the money that we borrow will not be payed back by our children in the form of debts in billions, like the Poles as a result of Gierek's policy, until then one must be careful with loans. But there are vast ammounts of other, meaningful methods of economic aid.

Perhaps Vera Caslavska could say something on this. Although her original profession was as a sportswoman, she has experience with the world economy.

[Caslavska] Very briefly, through sports I managed to come into contact with people who love Czechoslovakia, for example, Mr. Samaranch who is interested in the events in Czechoslovakia as a whole. In actuality these are people who wish to invest their capital in Czechoslovakia and they want to help us. Not to help themselves. These are actual people who appeared on television recently and in the same way, this concerns cooperation with Japan which I believe Czechoslovakia would surely welcome and will welcome. So, I do not want to go into detail. There will be some press reports and I would rather leave the microphone to the president and to you. [applause]

[Havel] The president will cunningly make use of the fact that it was an economic question and that he has his economic adviser with him and will ask him to speak. [laughter]

[?Komarek] I expected something like this. I will be brief. As far as loans are concerned, we are of the opinion that Czechoslovakia has a number of internal resources which must be managed better, more effectively, and that we do not have to be dependent on foreign loans. We economists usually have a very unpleasant task to say that people have to work better, more skillfully, harder, so I have to say the same. We think that we must first take stock of everything we have and only then consider the whole economic strategy. Once again I would like to emphasize that we do not consider foreign loans to be a tool that would help us fundamentally and that we should turn towards. [applause]

[Unidentified moderator] Any other questions?

[Unidentified speaker] I would like to ask when the names of those members of the [CPCZ] Central Committee who invited in the intervening Army in 1968 will be published officially, and I would also like to know whether they will be tried by the court for treason?

[Havel] I have read in the papers that the General Prosecutor's Office is dealing with this [laughter] and here is the problem of the lapse of time: if those people were, for example, covered by deputies' immunity, then this time is in fact extended and the person can be prosecuted after more than 20 years. These matters are being studied by historians in archives. Hungarians and others have offered to exchange archive materials with us, and if the independent justice should arrive at an opinion that someone has committed the crime of treason, then he would possibly be tried for this, but this will certainly not be because Mr President will give instructions for this. The time of behind the scenes manipulations of justice is over. [applause]

[Moderator] I would add—if you like, ask your parents what they remember of trials after the war with traitors and collaborators—I am afraid that the biterness which the memories of those trials evoke is greater than the momentary satisfaction. Let us think about this. [applause]

[Marek] Marek, from the Faculty of (?Philosophy) I would like to ask for your reaction to the open letter of filmmakers. This is about the restriction of penetration of American capital into our culture.

[Havel] I, much earlier than this letter appeared, learned that some people in the Barrandov [state film studios] were disseminating reports that Havel likes capitalism and the Barrandov studios used to belong to his family, that commercialization is threatening Czechoslovak

films, and it made me very angry when I heard this, and how, in what way those people were saying that, and were frightening others by this prospect. And then this was spread and more and more people believed this. This is, of course, total nonsense. I have said many times, on various occasions, that at the present time, at the present time for mankind, the most important thing is for man to come to his senses, to free himself, for man to realize what he has done on this earth, to gain a kind of humble attitude, a respect for something higher, something that is above him—the universe, or God—no matter what anybody calls it, and realize that an era of spirit is beginning, an era when it is necessary to subside culture because it lifts the spirit, it revives man—naturally, independent culture, noncommercial culture—and these are views I have held all my life, I have been writing about this. And if then some filmmaker says that 2 weeks after I became president, the Barrandov will be commercialized, then I become very angry because I do not know that used to happen in the Barrandov—pornographic films were made by various gentlemen whom I do not want to name because I do not want to do what I criticized a short while ago—that criminal offenses are a matter for independent justice and not for Mr President to speak about. This will end. The Barrandov studios have been making entirely idiotic commerical films, for Czechoslovakia, entirely economically disadvantageous for various obscure western companies, and various individuals and mafia men were making a packet—all this has ended. Czechoslovak film can be independent, it can be subsidized, it can earn money for itself, it can be divided into a number of independent firms. Maybe the Koliba [studios in Bratislava] will become independent, and after some time, also the Zlin studios. But I would be the first to speak out if there were such a danger of commercialism. [applause]

[Unidentified student] As a Moravian, I take it very hard that Moravia was able to use a considerably smaller amounts of the national income as compared to its share in the creation of that income. During the whole period of the existence of the Communist regime. I think that any legitimization of this fact always was, is, and will be immoral. I would therefore like to ask you, Mr President, what is the chance that [word indistinct] organs of state power will understand this fact radically change in this practice.

[Havel] Well, first I would like to briefly repeat what I said at the begining. If Moravia is getting a bad deal, then it is the era of freedom and Moravia can loudly and clearly formulate, articulate its requirements, its criticism of anyone. In representative bodies, in the press it can set up its own organizations but it can't simply send written complaints to the center somewhere. That is the old way of thinking. But since the question was of an economic nature I would once again give the floor to the economic advisor.

[?Komarck] As far as the distribution of financing from the state budget is concerned, we are still facing a basic step, which is to demystify the national budget. When you see what is behind the figures which have been published then the question of division of finances between Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia will most probably become secondary. There are much greater problems there, I would say much more amoral problems. It is difficut to judge today whether Moravia truly received an adequate share of the state budget. For this reason I would recommand to you that when all the facts are made public, when we really know about the state budget, then we should meet again and consider the matter again on the basis of specific figures. [applause]

[Unidentified speaker] Let us have a question from the upper circles so that we do not neglect you. [unidentified student]

I would like to ask about the presence of Soviet troops in our republic. It seems to emerge from talks that a quicker withdrawal will not be possible in principle but I would like to ask whether or not some kind of agreement would be possible concerning the Soviet troops so that [words indistinct], so that the activity of the forces does not take place as it does today. To be more precise, [so that we hear] about plans to extend the exercise areas of the Army, and so that we hear exactly about their activity, and about, for example, how many apartments they own, basically land, and things of that kind, if that is possible.

[Havel] The Czechoslovak Army is not able to keep track of these things. It is possible to get hold of the facts no doubt, and to publish them, and to find out. But that in itself will not drive the units out of here. I am preparing, that is in about 2 weeks, I will have talks with Mr Gorbachev and I have a certain idea that I would like to put forward, and it is not appropriate for me to explain it before it is explained to its addressee. The plan would culminate this year but let us be aware of one thing, that we are talking about reducing our military service retrospectively to 18 months. The numbers in our Army will be reduced by one-third, and the smaller our Army, the greater will be the argument that the Soviets should stay here a little longer because of European equilibrium. This is a certain package of problems, or knot of problems, which as well as many other such knots I vowed to discuss with Mr Gorbachev and possibly untangle. I do not know how successful I will be. [applause]

If Moravia was to fight for its autonomy with the same speed with which it looks for honey [laughter], then it would have been independent a long time ago. [applause]

[Unidentified speaker] Do excuse me interrupting. I believe that a greater proof of Brno's action ability has certainly not been possible. [laughter] Even in this short time the honey has been tested. [laughter] We all hope that you will like the honey and that it will help you when you submit proposals (?concerning Moravia). [laughter and applause]

[Unidentified speaker] [name indistinct] from the agricultural college. I will now return to something more prosaic, the topic of the Army. I would like to ask, Mr President, what is your view on the latest movements,

and the latest various petitions regarding the reduction of basic military service to 12 months, and to 6 months for college graduates. I would like to hear your view. What do you think about this?

[Havel] There have been various proposals and all this is somewhat linked together. If I had it my way, there would not have to be any Army at all. [applause] But I would like to say that the Army is the only force in this country which is obeying me. [laughter] This is after all its duty.

However, to the reduction of a military service; this is not so simple, you cannot reduce it just like that, when the fancy takes you. It has to be linked with certain international talks, and we are still part of the Warsaw Pact. This is not so simple, and we will do everything possible so that young people do not have to spend the best years of their life marching there and back somewhere. [applause]

[Unidentified speaker] As we are running late [words indistinct].

Plans U.S. Visit

LD1501200590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Question-answer session with President Vaclav Havel and university students at the Mahen Theater in Brno on 15 January; in Czech—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, today arrived in Brno for a visit. It is the third home visit by the head of the Czechoslovak state.

President Vaclav Havel first met with Milan Jelinek, rector of the Jan Evangelista Purkyne University. After a short conversation, he met with Brno University students. Together with his advisers, he replied to questions on the current domestic and foreign political situation, as well as questions concerning the problems of students. We have the following recording from the meeting with students:

[Begin recording] [Hron] My name is Tomas Hron and I would like to ask the president about his visit to the United States, whether he expects to make one, because both delegations of U.S. Congressmen expressed a kind of invitation to the United States, and what he would like to talk about in the United States and whether he would discuss a loan as the Poles have done.

[Havel] A state visit to the United States is being planned, but it is customary that the date be announced at the same time in both countries, the same hour, so there is no point in me telling you the date here. It will be a long state visit, about 3 ½ days I think, and we are not very eager to take loans. Rather, the whole economic team, headed by Docent Komarek [first deputy premier] which will be part of the delegation, will hold talks on various levels and with businessmen and merchants about investment and so on, but on a principle of equality. Until our economy is capable of guaranteeing that the money that we borrow will not be payed back by our children in the form of debts in billions, like the Poles as a result of Gierek's policy, until then we must be careful with loans. But there are vast amounts of other, meaningful methods of economic aid.

Perhaps Vera Caslavska could say something on this. Although her original profession was as a sportswoman, she has experience with the world economy.

[Caslavska] Very briefly, through sports I managed to come into contact with people who love Czechoslovakia, for example Mr Samaranch who is interested in the events in Czecholsovakia as a whole. In actuality, these are people who wish to invest their capital in Czechoslovakia and they want to help us. In the same way, there are talks about cooperation with Japan which I believe Czechoslovakia would surely welcome and will welcome. So, I do not want to go into detail. I will run through a few press reports and I would rather leave the microphone to the president and to you.

[Havel] The president will cunningly make use of the fact that it was an economic question and that he has his economic advisor with him and will ask him to speak. [laughter]

[?Komarek] I expected something like this. I'll be brief. As far as loans are concerned, we are of the opinion that Czechoslovakia has a number of internal resources which must be managed better, more effectively, and that we do not have to be dependent on foreign loans. We economists usually have a very unpleasant task to say that people have to work better, more skillfully, harder, so I have to say the same. We think that we must first take stock of everything we have and only then consider the whole economic strategy. Once again, I would like to emphasize that we do not consider foreign loans to be a tool that would help us fundamentally and that we should turn towards.

[Novotny] [first name indistinct] Novotny, Faculty of Philosophy. I would like to ask about the presence of Soviet troops, so that we hear exactly about their activity, and about, for example, how many apartments they own, basically land, and things of that kind, if that is possible.

[Havel] The Czechoslovak Army is not able to keep track of these things. It is possible to get hold of the facts no doubt, and to publish them, and to find out. But that in itself will not drive the units out of there. Perhaps we will have, that is, I will have talks with Mr. Gorbachev and I have a certain idea that I would like to put forward, and it is not appropriate for me to explain it before it is explained to its addressee. The plan would culminate this year but let us be aware of one thing, that we are talking about reducing our military service to 18 months. The numbers in our Army will be reduced by one-third, and the smaller our Army, the greater will be the argument that the Soviets should stay here a little longer because of European equilibrium. This is a certain

package of problems, or knot of problems, which as well as many other such knots I vowed to discuss with Mr. Gorbachev and possibly untangle. I do not know how successful I will be. [end recording]

[Announcer] After the meeting with the students in the Mahen Theater, the president of the Republic went to have lunch in the student canteen.

Addresses Rally

LD1501185890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1541 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at a rally at Suoboda Square in Brno—live]

[Text] Dear friends, I thank you for the truly warm welcome accorded to me. It was so warm that it prevented me from paying some unexpected visits that I had planned. I paid only one unexpected visit and in doing so, I, along with my friends who are accompanying me, upset our program, and that is my visit of the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy. We were accompanied by Minister Vacek, which is also the reason why he is with us here on the platform. We also wanted to pay a visit to some other plants but the warmth of your reception have made it impossible for us to do so. Despite this we visited the First Brno Engineering Works students. We visited the Faculty of Philosophy and had some other meetings.

Everywhere I went, I encountered questions about the position of Moravia in the future democratic and free Czechoslovakia. I even see over there the emblem of the Moravian Eagle. At this moment, I would only like to say two things, which in any case, I already said at my meeting with students today and that is that Moravian conciousness must above all be able to realize itself as must Moravian identity which, too, must somehow realize itself as some kind of independent, cultural manifestations, in institutions that will spring up from below, and that can one day subsequently find some kind of administrative expression. But I believe that we must work for this to happen one way or another, for we cannot merely write complaints to Prague or something like this.

I myself have a very close relationship with Moravia. I have spent a large part of my youth here. My grandfather and my mother came from here. A number of my friends live here, such as Josef Safarik, the philosopher who hails from Brno and who has influenced me a great deal in my life. Also one of my plays was performed in Brno for the first time, naturally not under my own name, in the Theater on the String. It was not a full length play; it lasted only three quarters of an hour. And so I am glad to be here and I simply have a very warm attitude toward Moravia.

The only thing is that at this moment, speaking for myself, I am unable to promise anything to Moravia, because I am neither the Federal Assembly which passes laws, nor am I the Czech National Council or the Federal Government. I have my own certain range of powers which are not unlimited and which I cannot abuse. I can naturally put forward certain proposals at various discussions or meetings of representative bodies. I shall take account of this Moravian sentiment. In any case, I am going to deliver a lengthy speech at the next meeting of the Federal Assembly in which I will also devote a certain amount of attention to Moravia. I believe that the national emblem ought to be different than the current one, because the current one is ugly. [applause and shouts of approval]

On top of this, it is a kind of heraldic nonsense, so I think that in the future large Czechoslovak emblem, the beautiful eagle [the Moravian emblem] should definitely be represented, because after all, it was the oldest state formation of which we are aware, when (?it was) the Greater Moravian Empire in which our nations, and even as far as the Slovaks, lived for the first time, as far as we know, in some sort of united state formation.

I don't want to make a long speech here today because others will be speaking. I have with me my friends, my advisors. I have with me some of my friends who lived through the whole of our revolution with me from the first moments and who are now helping me at Prague Castle to sort out a few things [laughter]. Among them is also someone who you probably know very well, Petr Oslzly, the dramatist at the Theater on a String. All the best to him! Maybe the call—Long Live Oslzly—would be an opportunity for me to discreetly leave the microphone. [shouts of "no" from the crowd followed by "Long Live Havel"]

Friends, I have to admit to something. I have had such a warm welcome not just today in Brno, but everywhere I go, even in Munich [laughter] and I am beginning to be a little afraid. Because suddenly I am becoming aware that perhaps many people are putting too much hope in me. I am not a saviour president. There is freedom now, we all have the freedom, and it is up to all of us, we must all do something. Ten thousand or 15,000 letters arrive daily at the castle, crowds of people stand there, they tell me of all the unjust things that have happened to them, they all turn to me personally. They say that they trust only me, and it is not possible. That would simply not be democracy if everything depended on one person. Democracy is joint participation and cooperation of all, isn't it. [applause]

For myself, I am trying to fulfill all the promises that I made to the public before I was elected to this high office. I am trying to live up to all my duties, I really work intensively, and I move from place to place as much as possible, and sometimes I don't even have time to sleep. Despite this, I ask you to believe more in yourselves, to trust yourselves more. And in particular here in Brno in Moravia, I am reminded that it has to be you, the Moravians, who do something for your own self confidence, for your national self awareness. Today, there are not totalitarian obstacles in your way. If you

find your own self-expression of spirit, idea, and culture, if you find your own institutions, your own publishing houses, newspapers that will be better than the ones in Prague, then you will be doing a lot for your own independence, and then of course you might achieve some sort of more significant arrangement, some sort of more significant expression in our state system.

But I would like to repeat what I already said, that just writing letters to the Castle and relying on Havel to liberate Moravia: It really is not a democracy, is it? It cannot be done like this. [applause]

Possibly I am not ending on too optimistic a note by saying this—and I probably should have really already left the microphone to let it to be used by the others. So perhaps I should conclude by saying something that I also said before but which is, after all, a bit more optimistic: that the beautiful eagle [emblem of the Moravian land] will probably soon get a better place in the state emblem. [crowd cheers: "Long live Havel!"]

Havel Arrives in North Moravia on Visit

LD0301145690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Excerpt] CSSR President Vaclav Havel arrived on a 1-day visit in the Frydek-Mistek District and Ostrava today. He is accompanied by Valtr Komarek, first deputy federal premier; Petr Miller, minister of labor and social affairs; and other officials. [passage omitted]

Addresses Students

LD0301150190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] CSSR President Vaclav Havel met with students of the Ostrava Mining College. Although his visit lasted less than half an hour, the atmosphere at the meeting was unique. In his short address, the president dealt with the problem of further enhancing humanitarian subjects in all schools. When he spoke about the plan to open to the world in education too, he stressed the need to know foreign languages.

Valtr Komarek, first deputy federal premier, answered questions concerning the prospects for graduates of the mining college and structural changes in the national economy. The president then left for a visit to the Staric mine.

Speaks at Rally

LD0301175690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1505 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel to a rally in Masaryk Square, Ostrava, during a visit to North Moravia—live]

[Text] Dear friends, I am very grateful to you and my friends who have come with me. I am also very grateful for your wonderful reception. We are being received in this manner everywhere. We were received like this not only an hour ago in Frydek-Mistek, but also yesterday in East Berlin and Munich. This great trust which you place in the government of national accord and in me personally as president—I also I am a president of national accord—makes us naturally very happy, and it is binding on us. At the same time, I would like to say what i have repeated often: that we, on our own, cannot do very much, that now we must all work. For example, I have seen here a post saying that Havel has brought freedom and expressing a wish for him to bring snow for skiers too. [laughter] There have been times in the past when the following was recited: We shall rule wind and rain. That was an expression of pride—a pride of ideology which believed that it understood the history of mankind, understood man, understood nature, and that he who accepted this ideology was wiser than others and was able to tell the rest of us how we should live, what to think, what we should do. Where this ideology eventually led to in our society we all know very well indeed.

I have to disappoint skiers [laughter]—we shall not rule the snow! Anyway, we do not want to order anything about very much. We have been raised by this peaceful revolution to the highest state posts, and we feel we are mediators of the people's will, speakers for the public. We rather want to do what is in the general interest, and do everything all of you want. We do not want to give orders, or rule—and least of all the snow, wind, rain!

I am glad that we have come here [applause], here to the Ostrava region. I myself have been in my presidential post, if I am not wrong, 4 or 5 days—none of the days have been a day off for me, all have been working days for me; and for other fellow citizens, or at least a majority of them, this is their 1st or 2d working day of my presidency. I spent the 1st day on a foreign visit, the 2d day I am spending here with you, and the 3d I shall spend by putting some order into what is called the Office of the President of the Republic [applause] [chanting: "Long Live Havel!"] Last weekend I could not do this because the office had a weekend. [laughter] By this I do not want to say that there are bad people there: We are living in an atmosphere of national accord, everyone has a chance but everyone has to realize that occasionally we cannot have a weekend, time off. This does not concern you, working people, above all those who are working hard in mines or foundries, this concerns, for example the aforementioned office.

We are pleased to be in this region because we know well the great problems which exist here. We know that here are many hard working people [indistinct chanting] What is the matter? [unidentified speaker on the platform answers Havel: "Nothing, take no notice—Long Live Forum, or something like this"] Yes. We have been here only a few hours but because we have somewhat accelerated the tempo of our work and our moving around, we have thus managed even in those few hours to learn several things. Some of them we have known, or at least suspected, even before, but we have heard it from the most authorized speakers—that is from the mouths of workers of this region, from the mouths of people who

represent various political forces of this region—be it representatives of the college, state administration, political forces, and above all Civic Forum, as the ad hoc speaker of the public for this revolution of ours.

I am a writer by profession and as such I am not used to speaking very much, although in the past 6 weeks I have had to speek from dawn to dusk somewhere, and besides this, as a writer, I do like to be repeating what I have already said. Furthermore, everywhere I go there are television cameras, and some of you see this on television and then hear it again in a square, and I do not like this, so I shall not say what I said in Frydek-Mistek to miners, to college students and so on; I shall say something else.

One other thought and with this I shall conclude my short speech, to give time for a much better speaker than me—that is Dr Komarek. The last thing which I want to say is that—without showing off—that in the past 6 weeks what I felt before was confirmed: That is, that a better political situation, a better political system, a better economic system cannot be created if we do not have upright and brave and free citizens; and we shall not become upright citizens if we are not upright human beings.

At the beginning of this peaceful revolution there was a kind of growth in human uprightness, and this soon turned into a civic uprightness, and this is gradually changing into a political uprightness. The growth of human uprightness is the true foundation for the future, on which new structures—political, economic, and everything else, can be built. This, fortunately, was not only the very beginning of this peaceful revoltion but continues to accompany it, and while it is accompanying it this is all to the good. If this should disappear then it would be for the worse. I can see this human awakening in the fact that people are kinder, nicer to each other, that they think about each other, that collections have been organized for Romania, where a majority of us have never been, but where we know how the people there are suffering. This human awakening dwells in the fact man thinks not only about himself but thinks about others too, and is aware of the fact that there are times when it is necessary to serve something other and higher than oneself, even at the price of certain sacrifices.

I thank you for you attention and I repeat again that we are glad to be here and glad that you invited us to come here, and if you will allow me I shall now give the floor to a better speaker, a kind of a leader, chief or head of the economic team of the Government of National Accord, Dr Komarek, first deputy federal premier.

I thank you for you attention. [applause and chanting]

New Group Demands Moravian Self-Management

AU0901092590 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "New Association"]

[Text] The initiative group of the Society for Moravia and Silesia [Spolocnost pre Moravu a Sliezsko] made available to CTK for publication a statement, which states, inter alia: We regard as the basic constituent part of the self-management of Moravia and Silesia their economic self-management, especially in view of the present catastrophic situation in all spheres of life. We are convinced that precisely the organizational setup of regions on the basis of self-management would mobilize the territorial entities thus created to demonstrate exceptional labor output and initiative. Moravians and Silesians, but also other sympathizing, democratically-minded citizens regardless of membership in political parties and social initiatives, religious or other world outlooks, and place of residence, renew and set up with initiative branches of the Society for Moravia and Silesia.

Civic Group Calls Moravian Initiative 'Dangerous'

AU1601221990 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 10 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "By Telex, Mail, and Telephone" column]

[Text] A point of view on the so-called Moravian initiative has been handed to CTK by Civic Fora in the Zlin, Uherske Hradiste, and Kromeriz Districts. The initiative operates in a manner conspicuously divergent from the most important Civic Forum task: preparations for the elections. It [the Civic Forum] sees in all actions of this kind a dangerous and risky breach of the people's unity, a unity that is so necessary for strengthening democracy. The Civic Forum is demanding a fundamental decentralization of political, economic, and cultural life in our state. Attempts at centralization—if only a Moravian one—are in direct contradiction to this demand.

Federal Assembly Deputies Resign 16 Jan

LD1601171490 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1500 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] At the joint session of the Federal Assembly, which will take place on 23 January, the deputies will, above all, discuss drafts of the constitutional law on recalling deputies to representative bodies and the election of new ones, and the law on political parties. The preparation of this meeting was discussed today by both chambers' presidiums. The Presidium of the Chamber of the People noted the resignations of Deputies Jaromir Obzina, Karel Hoffmann, Josef Korcak and others; The Presidium of the Chamber of Nations noted those of Karel Rusov, Jozef Hrebik, and Jan Pirc.

Federal Assembly Session Set for 15 Jan

LD1301102490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] According to the CSSR constitutional law, President Vaclav Havel has convened the Federal Assembly for its spring session from 15 January this year.

Federal Assembly Deputies Elected 28 Dec

AU0301111590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Iveta Fryvaldska, Frantisek Zdobina report: "Vaclav Havel Proposed for the Post of CSSR President"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)—[Passage omitted] At 1430 [on 28 December], the Chamber of Nations and the People's Chamber convened for separate meetings to elect new deputies to seats that have become vacant. They are:

People's Chamber:

Michael Kocab, composer, without political affiliation, Prague; Vaclav Benda, PhD, mathematician, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic Party, Prague; Jan Bubenik, student of the Charles University Faculty of Pediatrics, without political affiliation, Prague; Professor Engineer Venek Silhan, candidate of sciences, pensioner, without political affiliation, Prague; Martin Peroutka, technician, Poldi Kladno, without political affiliation; Miroslav Jansta, LLD, research assistant at the Charles University Faculty of Law, Prague, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Miroslav Bartos, doctor of medicine, candidate of sciences, independent research assistant at Charles University Prague, member of the Czechoslovak People's Party; Libor Kudlacek, doctor of natural sciences, chief designer of Stavoprojekt Hradec Kralove, without political affiliation; Jaroslav Sabata, PhD, pensioner, without political affiliation, Brno; Engineer Tomas Hradilek, worker, SMDZ [possibly North Moravian Timber Works] Sumperk, without political affiliation; Engineer Robert Harencar, economist, LUDIB production cooperative, Bratislava, without political affiliation; Engineer Slavomir Stracar, chief metallurgist at the Steel Plant of the East Slovak Iron Works, Kosice, without political affiliation; Engineer Konstantin Viktorin, candidate of sciences, senior researcher [employer not mentioned], without political affiliation, Bratislava.

Chamber of Nations:

Ladislav Lis, lawyer on disability pension, without political affiliation, Prague; Vladimir Mikule, LLD, lawyer, CSP [possibly Czechoslovak Postal Service] Prague, without political affiliation; Karol Stome, LLD, defence counsel, without political affiliation, Plzen; Jan Solc, construction worker, Bytprum Ostrava, without political affiliation; Josef Novotny, PhD, secondary school teacher, without political affiliation, Jicin; Professor Zdenek Jicinsky, LLD, doctor of sciences, lawyer, without political affiliation, Prague; Petr Brodsky, priest of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, without political affiliation, Jihlava; Jaromir Glac, electrician, New Metallurgical Works of Klement Gottwald, Ostrava, without political affiliation; Alexander Dubcek, pensioner, without political affiliation, Bratislava; Juraj Mesik, doctor of medicine, research fellow, without political affiliation, Banska Bystrica. [passage omitted]

After being elected at meetings of their chambers, which they attended for the first time, the new deputies were sworn in in accordance with the Constitutional Law of the Czechoslovak Federation. [passage omitted]

National Assembly Chairman Dubcek Addresses Nation

LD0601213290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Radio and television address by National Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek on 6 January—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens, we have entered the year 1990. In his New Year's address, President Vaclav Havel spoke of the main tasks which he sees ahead in the current year and which he wants to carry out. Prime Minister Marian Calfa also spoke of the tasks facing us in the new year. In my inaugural address to the Federal Assembly, I also told you that we must take the first steps toward an advanced, democratic, and socially just society on the floor of our highest legislative body. In this connection, I want to share with you some of my thoughts about these tasks.

The moribund system of the Stalinist type of management and control over society has collapsed. Political pluralism is ushering in conditions for democratic administration and development in all areas of our activity. Political and economic reforms, if they are to be enduring and irreversible, cannot concern only the central bodies of the state administration, state power, and economic institutions. They also must be underpinned in the strict logic of things to the territorial organization of the Czechoslovak state.

The preparation for the restructuring of the system of state administration in 1968 followed on from the historic decision to build the Czechoslovak state on the principles of a federative system. This created very favorable conditions for extensive democratic administration by the people, based on equal relations for Czechs and Slovaks, as well as for the other ethnic minorities living in Czechoslovakia. The period of the so-called normalization, however, established a harsh centralism that devalued and on the whole halted the intentions being prepared, thereby seriously weakening the democratic essence of people's power in the conditions of the Czechoslovak federation.

I would like to say a few words about the youth. They warrant our special attention because of the prospects the new period of the world and our country's own

development give them. Young people must prepare themselves thoroughly in order to make use of new opportunities. They must learn what we have already forgotten: To be enterprising, to take sound risks, to step out of the circle of mediocricity and to apply their talents and abilities in the harsh world competition. However, we must do everything possible to insure that opportunities assume the shape of reality. This, too, could be the road toward a gradual reduction of differences between ourselves and the outside world.

That is why we must concentrate our efforts on making our economy more cost-effective, less dangerous to the environment, but at the same time more effective. This is an extraordinary important issue. It will concern all of us.

In a way, this is an experiment because so far the problem of moving from an administrative-bureaucratic system to a market economy has not been solved anywhere. The attempt in the second half of the 1960's—which clearly revived national economy—was forcibly disrupted by the period of so-called normalization. Meanwhile, the bureaucratic system has grown to monstrous dimensions, the economy has declined, and our present starting position is much more difficult.

Also regarding this issue, in the Federal Assembly will need to adopt the necessary legal amendments which will make a deep economic reform easier. We will need to discuss our state budget for this year very seriously. I do not mean only the building of an entrepreneurial managerial economic sphere. What matters is that the future development be as harmonious as possible, without more serious social conflicts. We can achieve this only through joint effort, joint willpower.

The path to common agreement is through a democratic system to which we have grown unused. It is an apparently difficult path that demands a lot of effort, many compromises, much time, and often more work. Nevertheless, contrary to other so-called unanimous solutions we have tried already, only the democratic path can lead forward toward a real agreement, real progress in the interest of all of us.

All those who participate must have equal rights. Well-developed economic managerial structures also must have a partner with equal rights and good knowledge: a strong trade union movement.

We will have to learn through our own experiences, but also from the countries where social legislation and trade union movements are highly developed.

I also want to pay tribute to work done honestly by technicians, workers, farmers, and all others. I cannot imagine that our social and political revolutionary renewal could have had such an orderly course without the backing by those who during the eventful year just passed secured the undisrupted running of our economy in the production sphere. This deserves acknowledgment and great moral appreciation. They deserve to be thanked for it.

I touched on the issue of the plurality of the interests of society. The heterogeneity of interests is a reality. The Federal Assembly will create conditions for this by the association and assembly laws and a law on political parties. Many new parties and groups currently are coming into being. This is a natural reaction to the preceding state of affairs. It has been (?concluded) that politics is to be conducted before the eyes of the people. This undertaking must be carried out in the state bodies, trade unions, and political parties and groups. Today we are in a period when we must be responsible in preparing the way the democratic mechanism of power actually operates in the Federal Assembly, too. We currently are drawing up laws on freedom of association and assembly and the right to organize petitions, amendments to the press law, a law on political parties, and especially a law on elections, which is one of the important legislative measures aimed at creating conditions for free elections, which should take place before the end of this year.

In the current period, there is particular emphasis on that which unites us. I do not think this can be fully expressed by legal measures, alone. Something more is needed. I would be glad if that could be something more than merely looking back at the past. We cannot progress without analyzing the existing state of affairs and its roots. We must look forward and toward everything that unites us for the future. This is the aim of a prospering, democratic, and socially just country. Even with full plurality of interests, we cannot afford even a hint of social disintegration or disorganization. Our interest is to strengthen society's awareness that we belong together. From the heritage of our nations we must draw on everything that links us together and put this in the service of current needs.

The new status of the churches belongs in this category. Recently I had the opportunity to meet Pope John Paul II. He is a great personality in today's world and I, too, would be pleased if we could welcome him in our country. In my meeting with him and Cardinal Tomasek, when I read the message from the Czechoslovak Hussite Church, and also in conversation with believers, I realized how much we had to draw on the 1,000-year legacy of love for our neighbor, understanding, and tolerance.

When we talk about understanding and tolerance, it must be said that attitudes that cause mass psychosis against all Communists indiscriminately would devalue our democratic principles. We cannot take a black-and-white view because communists also played an important part in the struggle against fascism and for the renewal of freedom and democracy. They, too, suffered from the Stalinist and neo-Stalinist system of arbitrary power and distortions, and 20 years ago hundreds of thousands of them waged a struggle for the renewal of our entire society. However, this does not diminish in any way the guilt of those who bear the responsibility for the state of crisis in our society, for its moral decline.

The active supporters of the humanistic movement should help our society assess critically not only the past

21 years, but also the whole history from 1918 to the present. Without an expert analysis of the past, we will not be able to orient ourselves well along the path to a democratic and socially just society. Along this road we must respect both group and personal interests which are a given in modern society. However, we must place the main emphasis on justice, morality, tolerance, and the feeling of being part of all mankind. We must return to our society all the ancient integrating factors of human society without which mankind would not be mankind and man would not be man.

In conclusion, I would like to voice my conviction that the year 1990 will also be a year of further disarmament and of European integration. The long period of the Cold War is coming to a close. Perhaps even today we are not able fully to appreciate this fact. I would like to appreciate the huge work both superpowers and their representatives—Mikhail Gorbachev, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush—have done in this regard. At the same time, I would like to give support to the initiative to convene a new conference on security in Europe.

The process of European integration has several very delicate points. I advocate that we, too, proceed in a very deliberate manner. We will seek ways of reaching understanding with our neighbors and will approach everything from the angle of the common interests of Europe, without emotions and recriminations. We must do everything possible to assist progress in European cooperation.

Esteemed fellow citizens, in the coming period I will be striving to insure that the Federal Assembly expresses and safeguards the very interests of our people, and implements their aspirations and rights. We will take care to insure that laws are fully in accord with the international obligations our state has accepted. In the course of 2-3 months we in the Federal Assembly will have to prepare ourselves to check the activity of the government in order to fulfil well also this previously neglected duty. Deputies must use their initiative to share in the process of the democratization of the entire society, which should be crowned by free elections.

I believe, esteemed fellow citizens, that this year, although a difficult one, will be a good year. We all will endeavor to insure that this is so.

Views Political Problems

LD0801223390 Prague CTK in English 2029 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Report on interview with Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium, by the Swedish news agency TT—date and place not given]

[Text] Stockholm, Jan 9 (CTK)—It was national awareness which did not accept the invasion of Czechoslovakia 21 years ago and the following 20 years of neo-Stalinist policy that led to the Czechoslovak revolution, Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek said in an interview for the Swedish TT agency.

He stressed, however, that this revolution took place in favourable international conditions, due mainly to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Alexander Dubcek further said his conviction of the inevitability of a radical revolutionary change in Czechoslovakia deepened both due to the ideas of the Prague spring and the following upsurge of social achievements in the democratic political system of Western Europe.

The Federal Assembly chairman said he is not a member of the Communist Party and that he had different ideas of a political party of a social type. In view of his post of parliament chairman he said he would like to unite the effort of all political, interest and church institutions, aimed at meeting civic, society and universal interests.

Asked about the most important political problems to be settled now, Dubcek said it is mainly legislation in the sphere of forms of ownership, enterprise, trade and market, tasks embodied in the Helsinki declaration and the Vienna follow-up conference, in particular civil and human rights, the right to assembly and association, a new law on the press and on elections.

Alexander Dubcek added that there are many substantial phenomena in Swedish politics, economy, the tax system and social achievements from which Czechoslovakia can learn.

Information Sought on Nuclear Power Stations

AU1701083790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed CTK report: "Against Myths"]

[Text] At a discussion with some members of the Association for Informing the Public About Czechoslovak Nuclear Power Industry and of the Society of Czech and Slovak Radioecologists in Prague, journalists were briefed about the immediate aims of these associations. Their main aim is to supply our public with objective information about problems concerning the operation and safety of nuclear power stations and their impact on the environment. This means, on the one hand, to "declassify" some previously unpublished data and, on the other, to say the truth with regard to rumors and myths.

Brno Rally Urges Military Airport Abolition

LD1401200590 Prague CTK in English 1711 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, Jan 14 (CTK)—More than 25,000 citizens of the South Moravian city of Brno and 8 neighbouring villages gathered at military airport in Brno-Turany yesterday to call for its abolition.

Participants in the rally approved unanimously a letter which was sent to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel.

Cottbus Demonstration Opposes SED

LD1601201490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1908 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Cottbus (ADN)—Approximately 2,000 Cottbus residents tonight responded to a demonstration appeal by the CDU [Christian Democratic Union], the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], and the NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] "For democracy, against dictatorship by the left and right." CDU and FDP politicians who supported the striving in the two parts of Germany for unity were welcomed with much applause. [passage omitted]

All the speakers at the rally unamimously opposed the arbitrary acts by the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leadership. They agreed that the danger of a revival of the old power structures had not yet been eliminated. This was also reflected in slogans such as "SED-PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], party of the Stasi," and "Socialism, SED, Modrow, Gysi, Stasi, No." [West] German flags were also seen at the demonstration.

Strikes Noted in Gera, Jena, Berlin

LD1601202290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1941 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Gera (ADN)—A lightning strike lasting several hours today in the motor transport enterprises in Gera and Jena, which working people from other factories in the GDR town joined, was aimed against the restoration of old power relations, above all by the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]. During an improvised meeting, several thousand participants demanded swifter results in the restructuring of the GDR, in particular in the dissolution of the offices of the former Ministry for State Security. At the same time, they welcomed the offer by Premier Modrow for cooperation with the opposition because the population greatly trusts in the new parties and organizations. [passage omitted]

Some 120 drivers of the supply transport enterprise in Berlin, who are responsible for the delivery of milk in the city, ended a 24-hour strike today. [passage omitted]

'Warning Strike' Held by Suhl Workers

AU1701100890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Warning Strike in Suhl Electrical Appliances Works"]

[Excerpts] Suhl (ADN)—On Wednesday [10 January], approximately 1,000 out of 1,500 employees went on strike for 1 hour in the Suhl Electrical Appliances Works. The warning strike, which was joined by working people from the Central Means of Rationalization Construction Enterprise of the Suhl Ultra Furniture State Enterprise, was to protest against the decisions of the Council of Ministers on compensation payments for former members of the security and state apparatus. [passage omitted]

During the warning strike, slogans against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism were also presented. [passage omitted]

News Conference on Storming of Stasi Building

LD1601202390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1715 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Material damage worth millions of marks occurred, according to a present overview, during the occupation of the premises of the former Office for National Security in Berlin through destruction and theft. The operative damage to counterespionage cannot yet be assessed.

This was reported by the deputy interior minister and head of the Deutsche Volkspolizei, Major General Dieter Winderlich, on Tuesday to the international press. The required investigations have been commenced by the state prosecutor. The criminal investigative department has begun its investigative activity.

The former compound is now being secured by representatives of the citizens' committee in cooperation with the Deutsche Volkspolizei.

A great danger during the storming of the building by demonstrators on Monday evening was that this action could have had a signal effect on the entire country, Winderlich said. The entire process of democratization under way would have been endangered. Winderlich pointed out that 13 large demonstrations took place on the same day in the GDR.

The events of Monday showed what could happen if all democratic forces did not enter in good time into a security partnership, added the deputy head of the Council of Ministers Secretariat, Manfred Sauer.

The action, which had been conceived as nonviolent, had been regarded as the most peaceful way of lending emphasis to the demand for a dissolution, without compromises, of the office without anything being damaged, stated Professor Jens Reich of New Forum, which had called for the demonstration. Strikes or a general strike were only seen as the most extreme means. The New Forum expressed its pleasure that no violence had been used against people, but regretted at the same time "that it came to this rampage, that destruction took place." He agreed with the government representative that a peaceful and democratic climate should be created up to the elections and beyond. Clashes should not be conducted with violence but with arguments.

In the view of Prof. Reich, inadequate information from the government to the opposition parties and groupings participating in the roundtable was the reason the former Ministry for State Security headquarters was stormed. A

week ago, the government had intended to institute a Protection of the Constitution Organization. [passage omitted]

In response to questions from journalists about whether former members of state security had positioned themselves as agents provocateurs at the head of the demonstration, Maj. Gen. Winderlich stated that he could not confirm this in any way. [passage omitted]

Government Report on Internal Security

LD1601213590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1329 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Report by Internal Affairs Minister Lothar Ahrendt to the roundtable in Berlin on 14 January]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)— Public order and security were maintained and safeguarded, despite many new conditions, such as the opening of the border in November last year, the great number of public events, including demonstrations, or the enormously increased cross-border traffic.

In 1989, 129,846 investigative proceedings were dealt with which led to 94,925 persons being investigated. Of these, about 45 percent were crimes against property, about 15 percent crimes against persons, including i.a. voluntary manslaughter, 128 of which were cleared up.

Last year about 24,000 searches for persons and 84,000 searches for property were carried out.

There were 48,101 road accidents in which 1,624 people were killed and 41,187 injured.

The 5,133 fires caused a total damage of 127 million marks, without taking into account subsequent damages.

Regarding public events or demonstrations, the cooperation of the citizens, practiced in many cases, and in particular the numerous security partnerships with new social groups and parties and citizens' committees must be particularly emphasized. They proved to be essential for the safeguarding of public order and security and, above all, for nonviolence.

There generally exists great interest in nonviolence and security partnerships, however, only some of those responsible are prepared to take on individual responsibility for the safeguarding of public order and security. It is also becoming clear that the problem of security partnership in the areas [bezirks] is not always reflected in the media immediately or only in biased form.

The number of registered demonstrations is on the increase. Among some of the demonstrators there is an increasingly aggressive mode of behavior towards those thinking differently. Necessary measures to maintain order taken by the German People's Police are sometimes ignored. The results of insufficient cooperation with the German People's Police are shown by the example of New Year's Eve at the Brandenburg Gate.

Many citizens feel uncertainty, some of them even fear certain—some of them new—trends that impair public order and security. A great number of information and petitions, whether addressed to the prosecutor's office or the Ministry of Internal Affairs, testifies to this.

Since the last quarter of 1989, the following trends in the development of crime have been emerging:

—Criminal acts with the use of dangerous devices and methods (acquisition, possession, and use of weapons, explosives, or threats of violence), which considerably impaired public order and security;

—Indications of drug crimes;

—Organized economic crimes, particularly gang-like organized speculation, including the participation of foreigners, taking advantage of the present market-events situation (currency speculation, organized acquisition and buying, as well as exporting of goods, antiques, art treasures and cultural goods);

—Appearances of neo-fascism;

—Cross-border criminality;

—Procurement crimes (theft, fraud, gambling, prostitution, etc).

After the border's opening, it was noted that, through random customs checks from 1 December 1989 to 6 January 1990, 109 cases alone of illegal importation of drugs (73 of them in Berlin) were encountered. Involved in this were 92 foreigners and one GDR citizen.

It must be expected that the illegal import and distribution of narcotics will escalate and that underground smuggling and distribution networks will be set up by the culprits.

There have been 72 cases discovered of the illegal import of weapons and the corresponding ammunition. The majority of these weapons are purchased by GDR citizens in the FRG. Crimes were committed and investigations commenced in connection with the possession of these weapons (bodily harm, threats, blackmail, and unauthorized possession of a weapon).

Since the border's opening, the number of cases of minors being reported missing (59) by parents and children's homes has increased. A great deal of police effort has been taken up in establishing the whereabouts of these minors. There have been 35 cases of requests regarding missing minors being made from West Berlin.

A worrisome feature is a significant increase in threats of violence: the figure doubled in 1989 to 221. The major portion took place in December. Increasingly, acts of violence are politically motivated. In addition, there is the threat of acts that could endanger people's lives and health (for example, the Leipzig "pleasure dome") in

public transport, railway stations, and particularly in area capitals and in cities, enterprises, and other public facilities.

Even if the majority of actions threatened was not carried out, they nevertheless had considerable psychological results. In addition, in order to avert the dangerous situations, extensive material and personnel forces and means had to be mobilized.

Since 1981 at least, individuals of right-wing neofascist attitudes have been increasingly consolidating among groups of young people, beginning with violent football fans and sections of the punk movement (Nazi-punk). From these emerged the skinheads who conduct themselves with nationalistic, racist, and anti-Semitic slogans and who, thus motivated, commit public nuisance crimes.

I would also mention those groups who call themselves "Fascho," who advocate identical or similar attitudes and positions and pursue the main objective—"the reordering of Germany" on a fascist basis. It is in that spirit that they are trying to exert influence and gain followers in schools, apprentice homes, and youth leisure establishments.

Such groups maintain cross-area links and, in particular through the mediation of former GDR citizens, contacts with neo-fascist organizations in the FRG and West Berlin. Their strong endeavor is to gain weapons, to prepare themselves for possible clashes with those who think differently. During house searches, blunt and sharp instruments were found.

Well-know from the recent past is an increase in neo-fascist activities, for instance, in the violence, daubings, and other fascist manifestations in public. Therefore, in our country there is a considerable potential from which dangers for the security of the GDR, the life and well-being of her citizens, as well as aliens and foreign guests working in the GDR, are emerging or are likely to emerge.

There are worries and protests, both from the GDR population and from abroad, for instance from the Soviet Union, about the right-wing extremist, in particular neo-fascist, anti-Semitic, and xenophobic, manifestations.

At the end of 1989 for the first time, there occurred nationwide refusals to work and hunger strikes in the penal establishments. These were linked to massive demands right up to threats and attempts of mass breakouts. It is thanks to the circumspection of the prison forces and the deployment of the People's Police, that no further escalation took place. The extremely tense situation was also defused through the amnesty announced on 6 December 1989 by the GDR Council of State.

As of 5 January 1990, 10,540 out of 13,293 persons released from prison have appeared at their local counselors for rehabilitation talks, while 135 amnestied persons have returned to crime.

There are difficulties both in the provision of jobs and of accommodation for those given amnesty.

Since 11 January 1990, the Internal Affairs Ministry investigating organs have investigated or are in the process of investigating cases of abuse of office, corruption, and personal enrichment by 136 persons. In addition, 67 preliminary proceedings have been instituted, three of them against person or persons unknown. Some 28 people charged are being held in custody. The extent of the investigations to be carried out calls for the deployment of some 400 criminologists as well as other members of the German People's Police. Security in our country is not only influenced by internal factors, but also by external factors. Information to date forces the conclusion that there is at present an increase in Western secret services activity against the GDR. This is demonstrated by, among other things, the exposure of 22 spies in the past 2 years. Necessarily, given the conditions of open borders, there is greater opportunity for foreign secret services to carry out enquiries on GDR territory.

Radio electronic reconnaisance against the GDR is also being stepped up, with special reconnaisance systems based on the latest technology. The Internal Affairs Ministry cannot at present counteract this.

Work with intelligence resources and methods in espionage reconnaissance and counterespionage; countering terrorism; the prevention of sabotage; diversion; and other activities aimed at undermining the economy, particularly foreign trade; and combatting international terrorism; extremism; cross-border drug trafficking; and actions of neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic forces in the GDR has been stopped.

In the interest of the GDR, the reconnaisance body has a particularly great responsibility for the fulfillment of alliance obligations.

The security situation in the GDR is also such at present that Western secret services have considerably stepped up their activity in obtaining information from political, economic, and military spheres of the GDR. Special situation centers and crisis comittees, are analyzing the situation in the GDR and in the countries allied with the GDR.

Detailed information on reconnaisance findings can be made known to authorized representatives of the roundtable with respect for internationally customary security regulations.

On the basis of the assessment given, agreement should be reached on the following:

1. Public order and security, as a prerequisite for the functioning of the economy and of supplies, and for the well-being of the citizens, should continue to be guaranteed by the German People's Police. The presence of the People's Police, in particular in the framework of patrol activity, should be structured on a stable fashion through the use of the various forms of democratic cooperation with the citizens, such as security partnership, citizens initiatives, and citizens committees. For the prevention

of disturbances to public order and security, the intervention of the People's Police and the application of police sanctions must continue to be assured on the basis of the laws.

2. In accordance with the Council of Ministers decision on the dissolution of the Office for National Security, the measures for the transfer of the following duties to the Internal Affairs Ministry should be continued:

—investigation of criminal activities;

—execution of investigative custody;

—protection of persons and installations;

—anti-terrorist forces;

—guarantee of government intelligence communication and of central coding duties.

3. Because the decision to establish an office for the protection of the Constitution has been rescinded, the Ministry of Internal Affairs receives further tasks for:

—counterespionage;

—combating right-wing and left-wing extremist, as well as anti- Semitic and other racist, activities;

—combating terrorism and sabotage against installations of all forms of ownership.

The specialists necessary for this, as well as the material and financial funds, will be taken over.

SED-PDS Democratic Socialism Platform Founded

LD1701092890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0443 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A "platform of democratic socialism" has been founded in the SED-PDS [Socialist Democratic Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]. It is the fourth such grouping within the party. Previously the communist, the social democratic, and the "platform third way," had been founded.

The initiators of the new platform are SED-PDS members from Leipzig's Karl Marx University. In order to continue to ensure the SED-PDS' capacity for dialogue and political action, "we advocate a real implementation of the decisions of the extraordinary party congress, in particular of the statute," it says in a document of principles published in "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND" today. With the extraordinary party congress, the external image of the SED-PDS had changed, but the true break with the past within the party has not yet been completed.

"The destruction that has come to light over the past few days of documents and files in the security departments of the erstwhile SED apparatus, which would have provided information on cooperation in its activity with that of the former State Security Ministry, amounts both to a political scandal and to a violation of the party congress decisions, in particular of the statute. Actions of this kind intensify the justified public distrust and thereby undermine the necessary efforts to maintain the Modrow government's ability to function and to avert anarchy and chaos," it says in the principles of the platform.

"The old apparatus used the breathing space in December in order, among other things, to portray a self-satisfied image of the SED-PDS in voter surveys. The occupation with democratic activities against nationalist slogans and prevailing neo-Nazis activities in various sectors of the SED-PDS has dominated the media over the past weeks, and in our view runs counter to the democratic consensus of the revolution. There is a continued defense of power structures and positions that were never constitutionally justified. Forces hostile to reform are clearly using new theoretical concepts as a defensive barrier."

The SED-PDS has a future as a democratic alternative to the old SED only as a party that works equally alongside others in the political system of the GDR, the platform notes.

Modrow Statement at People's Chamber 11 Jan

LD1101140490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan pp 3-4

[Speech by Prime Minister Hans Modrow at the People's Chamber session in Berlin on 11 January: "It Is to the Credit of the People That the GDR Has Gained Democracy, Freedom, and a Reputation"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mr president! Esteemed deputies!

The government headed by me has now been in office for about 8 weeks. Despite this short time, I think it is already necessary to present to you here an initial account. The people of the GDR and the People's Chamber have a right to such information.

Allow me first of all to say a word of thanks. It is for all those who have supported the activity of this government, who have promoted it with advice, criticism, and deeds. Above all, it is for the citizens who have made our government work possible in the first place with their own work.

If the GDR has come through many a hard test in this time, if it has gained a piece of democracy, a piece of freedom and reputation, then this is to the credit of the people that has set out on a new, a good path. It is to the credit of the working people, the level- headed people and the restless people in the country who have turned a new page in the GDR, in the book of German history, and who have begun to write a new chapter in that history.

All who set the democratic renewal in motion and who are working on it today should understand, at the same time, that we have been given this historic opportunity that should be used without limitations and not impaired or frittered away.

A new politics has begun, although—I wish to add this—a great deal of the old politics must still be reappraised. The time has been too short to have shaped this already. We have experienced the opening of the borders to the FRG and West Berlin; we have recognized the millions of human encounters, but also the dangers of this development, as manifested in the acts of vandalism at the Brandenburg Gate. An irreversible path of democratization has begun, a great test for the people of the GDR, a test under the eyes of the whole world. I can draw the most important conclusions from this today. We have succeeded to a great extent in preserving a peaceful life. The word "nonviolence" has become a symbol of this democratic revolution. We have succeeded to a great extent in keeping the economy running and in safeguarding supply, although some performances have deteriorated. We have succeeded to a great extent in maintaining social security. We know at the same time that it is in no way perfect and that many citizens are concerned about the future. I share these concerns, but I also have the justified optimism to say: All of us together, we and the whole republic, have the power and the economic resources to face the problems. We should all have the courage and the will to tackle them.

Esteemed deputies! The domestic political situation in the GDR is, as you know, still contradictory. I would like to mention several significant points, which are of differing character. Work is being done in most factories with an awareness of responsibility and with great efforts. But the departure of missing workers is painfully noticeable in many places. The temporary lack of employees, who traveled to the FRG or to West Berlin and who have exacerbated a number of national economic problems because of this labor shortage, is also significant. Our economy at present needs about 250,000 more workers. There is also the necessity to integrate tens of thousands of people who have been released from other work, or who are being released, into the work process. Securing them the right to work in many cases requires effective occupational retraining, a process that is complicated for many people, particularly for older working people who are being confronted with a new beginning.

But I say to you quite frankly: The sooner a worker, whose previous job no longer exists, decides upon an acceptable form of work and obtains the necessary qualifications for it, the better it will be for him and for our economy. Mobility of the workforce is essential. This should not be an emotive work or one to conjure up nightmares, but should be seen as an objective requirement for a profitable society. Numerous citizens have expressed a lack of understanding of the fact that, in connection with structural changes of state organs, certain transitional money has been provided. Of course, it would have been the correct course if the government's standpoint on this had been explained to the public immediately. Allow me to say a few words on this, on the basis of talks that have taken place and the definitions that have been made since. The agreement between the trade union responsible for employees of the state organs and the Council of Ministers, according to which a compensation payment can be made for up to 3 years when a new occupation is undertaken, has given rise to public protest and even to strikes. This agreement was reached at the request of the relevant trade union. It wanted, in the interest of its members, to obtain social security for times of hardship, which has already become the practice for many workers of the Wismut, in shipbuilding, and of the Mansfeld combine.

The public protests are directed, therefore—I must say quite clearly—against a trade union agreement, which has proven valuable in practice, is in the interests of the trade unionists, and should, in the government's view, be taken on board in future labor legislation. It would really have been expected to find broad approval among all trade unionists. The members of all trade unions could also have been asked directly whether they are in favor of this 3-year clause or whether they wanted to stick to 1 year as is stated in the labor code. The government would have respected this vote.

In view of the circumstances, the Council of Ministers yesterday terminated the agreement with the trade union for employees of state organs, with the aim of introducing a regulation in accordance with the labor code, to apply as long as there was no new general stipulation. I regret that the trade union rights now remain behind what the Council of Ministers had offered and that was to be available in the future to all trade unions.

As far as differential payments to members of the former Office for National Security are concerned, the government has been confirmed by an independent legal report in its decision of 15 December. In view of the strong public reaction against this very decision, however, it is proposed to withdraw the 3-year settlement and to find a new one, on the basis of the pay or provision regulation for the Armed Forces, to which the labor code clearly does not apply. It would be appropriate here, either to proceed in accordance with the labor law applying to all other employees, i.e. the provison of differential payments for a maximum of 1 year, or to decide on a one-time payment according to the number of years of service. A certain social security is called for because there is no unemployment support in the GDR, and these employees may face or have already encountered considerable problems in reintegration. The government would like to submit this alternative in the roundtable in the interest of an internal policy consensus, in order to have a viable starting point for the necessary decisions by the Council of Ministers. There can be—and I would like to say this in general terms—no violation of laws already in force, also in view of considerations of appropriate domestic policy. If this were allowed, then the whole legal system would be put in danger. Law-abiding behavior, respect for the laws—this necessity applies to every citizen, to every state employee, to the workers of all enterprises, combines, and institutions. It is this that we understand, above all else, to be the decisive ingredient of the democratic change in our country. A state based on the rule of law is called for, and it must be preserved.

And now for a totally different internal aspect. We note with great concern acts of violence, campaigns by neo-Nazis or people who could turn into them, as well as xenophobia. The disgusting daubing at the memorial in Berlin-Treptow is just one symptom. On 1 January, one could hear in Karl-Marx-Stadt "Communists out—Nazis in." It is reported from Beeskow that young people in civilian clothes were brutally beaten up simply because they were officer cadets.

Shouts by gangs, such as "Dirty communist swines" and "We'll kill you," highlight the political position and the danger of certain groups of extremists. All democratic forces together must resolutely stand up to such demonstrations.

Likewise, it is necessary here to deploy uncompromisingly the state organs of power. Furthermore, it is high time to oppose the beginnings of an extremism that is obviously becoming increasingly effective, and to a greater extent, across the borders.

International experience teaches us that, apart from the Army and police, there must be constitutional services that guarantee the rule of law and certainty in the law with specific means. The GDR intelligence service and the protection of the Constitution under civilian leadership have been designated for this task. At issue are the tasks for safeguarding peace, preserving sovereignty, strengthening the GDR economy, and protecting the population against the dangers that derive from terrorism, drug crimes, extremism, and ecological crimes. It is on this that the work of the new services must concentrate. This must take place on a legal basis and under parliamentary control as well as the requisite degree of public opinion.

Therefore, the government has proposed to the Presidium of the People's Chamber the setting up of a parliamentary control commission. We have also recommended to the People's Chamber to turn the present Workers and Peasant's Inspection into a Committee for People's Control under the direct responsibility of the People's Chamber. We believe that this committee might perhaps, to begin with, concentrate fully on disbanding the Office for National Security. The two services are by no means meant to perpetuate the old structure or to continue the work of the former Ministry for State Security, whose illegal practices have once again been resolutely condemned and, particularly, will have to be justified by the former minister.

The citizens of the GDR—and this is at the heart of the matter—have, just like the citizens of Western states, a right to the safeguarding of the rule of law and certainty in the law. This also includes protection from subversive activities and other anti- constitutional acts. Anyone asking the government to guarantee the security of and within the country must also grant it the necessary facilities. Therefore, a way must be sought and found that takes these requirements into account. In the interest of the citizens of our country, there cannot and must not be a security vacuum. The disbanding of the Office for National Security is therefore to be carried out in such a way that we guarantee these demands by the citizens for their security, and now reflect jointly on how to find a consensus that guarantees citizen's expectations and demands on the government of the GDR.

We assume that the government will give to the roundtable early on 15 January detailed information on the security situation, in which the prosecutor-general will be incorporated, and that then such a path must be sought that safeguards the security of the citizens.

During the first weeks of the government's work—may I remind you of this—a number of problems have occurred that were not or could hardly have been foreseen at the election of the government. New cases of corruption and abuse of office were uncovered, and disturb public opinion. It is necessary to carry out careful investigations here. But we also expect the legal consequences to be enforced if the facts are clear. The responsible court then has the sole decision.

Demonstrations have lasted right up to recent days with intensified demands for reunification, which stir fears of an upsurge of nationalist forces and violence at home and abroad. In contrast, demands were and are becoming ever louder and more emphatic for the independence of the GDR, which is indispensable for the political stability of Europe, and this is being affirmed, as is known, by many politicians and by broad public opinion in the European states as well.

Many thanks must be given in this connection, as indeed overall in the new domestic political area, to church representatives for their moderating, balancing influence, and warnings to maintain level-headedness. I myself had the opportunity several times to express this thanks to holders of church office. They also performed great services as organizers of the roundtables.

The roundtables in Berlin and in the area [bezirk] are filling an important place in the process of democratic renewal in the GDR. By facing the requirements of the times, they may exercise lasting influence on the stabilization of our country. This should be the main concern. I stress this while fully appreciating the difficulties of the new parties and groups in facing up to concrete responsibility.

The government has declared itself for constructive cooperation with the roundtable and is proving this by deeds. For example, Frau Professor Luft and other government representatives explained the economic, financial, and social policy at the request of the roundtable on 22 December. This will continue, because the government needs and seeks the advice of the parties and groups participating in the roundtable.

The democratization, in a similar way to the stabilization and reform of the economy, requires the consensus of all responsible, political forces. There was particular agreement in the talk with representatives of the new parties and groups on 2 January in the Council of

Ministers building that the government and roundtable should allow themselves to be guided by joint responsibility for the fortunes of our people, and for this reason need mutual respect and mutual trust in their relations.

Government members and experts will in the future be available for questioning by the roundtable on previously agreed thematic areas in economic, financial, and social policy, on the relationship between the economy and the ecology, and on other questions. The working plan of the Council of Ministers and the legislative plan for 1990 will be further conveyed to the parties and groups of the roundtable for information. Those are also stimuli to bring in one's own ideas.

I would like in particular to call on the roundtable to make substantive proposals for my next meeting with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The same applies to proposals or detailed ideas on the GDR's future cooperation in the CEMA. The offer was made to the participants in the roundtable to cooperate with immediate effect, by means of civil control, in the work of the government in dissolving the Office for National Security. We have immediately proposed to support the working group of the roundtable with government experts, as requested.

Finally, a decision of the Council of Ministers on 21 December on support for the work of the roundtable must not be forgotten, and through which manifestly better working possibilities are being created for the new parties and groups. They are being supported directly by the state in personnel and financial matters and in other ways, including a decision on a law on parties.

What is still lacking from the roundtable, however, are thoroughly discussed proposals for a party and electoral law. Both are urgently required so that, as laid down, elections can be prepared and held on 6 May.

The offers made this week by the general director of television to all parties and organizations standing for election show how equality of opportunity can be put into practice in concrete fashion. All this certainly makes clear our efforts to achieve, beyond the government coalition, the consensus and cooperation of all forces willing to collaborate in democratic renewal and to work for the stability of our country and the well-being of its citizens.

Only in this way can a good internal political climate be guaranteed for the elections on 6 May. The opposition has expressed fear that the democratic successes achieved last autumn could gradually be lost. My government has done nothing and will do nothing to justify this accusation being levelled against it. Moreover, we are ready for talks. We have offered to cooperate with the opposition and now call upon it to submit proposals on the form in which it would be prepared to participate directly and resonsibily in the government's work with competent persons.

Let me just add this: Attempts to publicly contest the legitimacy of this government or to allegedly wish to supervise its work by a right of veto do not help establish orderly political relations, under which there can be orderly work by everyone, from the government to the workplaces in the enterprises.

Every citizen has the right to criticize publicly, and no one should allow himself to be denied this. But every citizen should be interested in the government's ability to function. Anyone who believes that a prime minister and his Cabinet could work under a right of veto by a political group is undoubtedly ill-advised. The same applies to ultimatums about when and where I must appear within the hour. As far as the legitimacy of the government is concerned, I cannot recall having become prime minister through a coup d'etat! Generally recognized political agreement states that this government, if it does not resign earlier for compelling reasons, will remain in office and function until the constitution of a newly elected parliament on 6 May and the subsequent election of a new government.

This is not far away. However, from the outset I have not seen my responsibility to be that of thinking only as far as 6 May and avoiding any decision that goes beyond this. One could very rapidly and thoroughly ruin this country in such a foolish way. The economic and social crisis that we must get out of is already deep enough as it is. It would be irresponsible to increase it in any way. I have taken on a rotten legacy, not out of high spirits but primarily because I feel I have a duty to the people of this country. This applies equally to all members of this government. Therefore, we must be active and work to see that the citizens have trust in their country, in their government, and in the further shaping and deepening of our democratic renewal.

But we must also make decisions that go beyond May 1990, if we want to seriously tackle and achieve economic reform, as well as environmental protection; for this too requires farsightedness and forward-looking decisions. We are accountable for this, and we will fulfill this duty today and in the future.

In the election campaign now beginning, it will certainly be necessary to appreciate emotions, controversial standpoints, and, as a whole, an internal political landscape that will be foreign to many citizens. There can be no understanding shown, however, for external intervention or attempts by the FRG to stage-manage a kind of pre-electoral campaign to the detriment of the GDR. The citizens of our state have the unequivocal right to make their own decisions without tutelege or advice, be it ever so well intentioned. I can only warn against harming the relationship between the FRG and the GDR in this or other ways.

One only need imagine exponents of political forces in the FRG, even those with government responsibility, intervening in the domestic affairs of France, Italy, or Holland as is occuring at present in the GDR. The governments of these countries would certainly reject this most strongly. The federal chancellor, at any rate, has shown the necessary

restraint, and everyone who advocates positive and closer relations between the two states, as agreed in Dresden, would do well to adhere to this.

The election campaign, if you will allow me to make the observation, should show the electors the programs of the different parties and the goals they are pursuing with free, fair, and secret elections. These goals may prove to be in critical contrast with the intentions of the government. But there must be a policy of nonviolence and a political culture that truly supports democratic renewal.

What the government constantly needs is constructive criticism and, above all, active, well-informed help in overcoming the problems that must be resolved every day in this country. The Council of Ministers meets weekly to work hard at a tight program, if I may say so. And there is a constant flow of information on these discussions in news conferences in order to inform the citizens swiftly via the media of decisions that have often sprung from their own initiatives. The Council of Ministers has proved its capacity to function effectively, as can be seen from its decisions, beginning with the evaluation of the 12th People's Chamber meeting. In the foreground are problems of production and supply, social questions, problems of infrastruture and, not least, the health service.

We have not only noted the critical observations in the committees in preparation for this meeting, but will also draw critical conclusions from them for the preparation of the committee discussions.

Repeated discussions with the chairmen of the area [bezirk] councils and the conference with the general director of the combines should also be mentioned. This has led to many operative tasks for the government, but also to suggestions to link economic reform closer to the practices of industry. I would also like to point out that general directors and enterprise managers turn to the government with the request and demand to further strengthen their authority in the enterprises so they can implement the tasks and responsibility entrusted to them by the workforce, as demanded by the government and the whole national economy.

In this spirit, I would ask all working people to cooperate trustingly with the managers of their enterprises and the general directors of the combines so that we may democratize work still further, but at the same time, guarantee the performance development in our national economy.

The profusion of outstanding changes to the law and bills imposes further concentrated work. The legislative plan has been submitted to both the People's Chamber and the roundtable, and not a little work in this area will be demanded of us all in the coming days and weeks.

Please permit me some further explanations concerning the economic situation. Overall, it continues to be tense at the start of the year, some 2 months after the opening of the borders with the FRG and West Berlin. The government and the organs managing the economy are doing everything in order to keep a grip on events in the economy. The working people in the enterprises have a crucial influence on this. Under present conditions, even if they are unsatisfactory in many places of work, the individual performance is, in the final analysis, paramount. In addition to necessary efforts by the state authorities, it creates preconditions for economic stability and—building on this—economic progress.

Support for the GDR from outside is needed. We would request it but best possible use must be made of our own opportunities and the support. Everybody in every enterprise should ask himself whether maximum use has already been made of one's own scope for responsibility, ideas, one's own material, and financial opportunities. To wait for instructions—this must be said openly — these times really should be a thing of the past. Now we just have to get used to it.

In my statement to the 12th session of the People's Chamber, I emphasized as the most important government task was to lead the GDR economy out of the crisis, to give it stability, and to import impulses for growth. We have worked on that collectively, and today we can note: The functioning of industry and supplying the people in the fourth quarter of 1989 were essentially guaranteed with great efforts. That was noticeable also during the festive days at the end of the year.

The working people of the GDR have achieved high performance with intensified labor under complicated conditions. According to the data, the produced national income grew during 1989 by somewhat more than two percent, whereby the planned size was not achieved by far, there is a 4 billion-mark deficit.

The state budget will conclude with a deficit of 5 billion to 6 billion marks. Profit losses of 2.1 billion marks occurred in 70 combines in 1989. The main causes of this are the departure of over 250,000 workers, intensifying disproportions between supply and final production, and an absolute decline in production in the fourth quarter in comparison with the previous year. There was, for example, 40 million marks less production—on average—per working day in industry from October to December then during the first three quarters.

The national economic effects are particularly tangible in that the production targets of many important main products were not fulfilled in supplies and final products. That led to increasing contractual backlogs, discontinuity of production, a high operative expenditure for their material-technical securing, and to additional imports from the nonsocialist economic area.

Assessments are in agreement that two-thirds of the decline in production in November/December is due to the departure of workers. Disturbed cooperative relations, missing supplies, and insufficient material preconditions had an effect at the same time. Failings in the organization of production, in management, and in work morale were also visible.

The past weeks have shown that the working people have tapped performance and effectiveness reserves at many places through exemplary commitment, and that the initial measures of the government brought immediate results on which we may now build further. The Council of Ministers decided, therefore, before the end of the year, that access to the enterprises' fund for premiums and bonuses may take place in accordance with the plan, also in enterprises in which the nonfulfillment of performance and effectiveness targets for 1989 was not the fault of the enterprise, and that means for the premiums at the end of the year may be claimed. Where the performance targets were achieved with a smaller workforce, the wages fund planned for 1989 was made available to the enterprises to its full extent.

Among the pleasing results are the facts that the export obligations to the USSR, which are so important for securing raw materials imports, were essentially fulfilled, that exports to the nonsocialist economic area have grown, that investment plans were exceed overall, although there were in part unbalanced arrears, and that—particularly at the end of the year—the goods transport situation was stabilized.

The plan for the state provision of animal products was exceeded in all positions through the committee work of collective farmers. It is, however, necessary, on account of the unfavorable weather in the previous year, to import 1.5 million tonnes of grain for the period until the new harvest. As is known, a report on the harvest situation in the past year was published comprehensively in the press yesterday.

It is particularly important to note that the provision of supplies to the population, in particular basic commodities, was on the whole guaranteed in the months of November and December, in spite of the high additional burden created by tourism and by the strong purchase of expensive consumer goods. The employees in infrastructure and trade and the workers in the foodstuffs economy have made a significant contribution to this. The priority task for 1990 is to stabilize economic development and guarantee economic performance. All citizens should feel committed to this task.

The government has made the necessary decisions for industrial work in the first quarter of 1990. The focal points here are securing and making available raw materials, supply products, and spare parts, as well as the deployment of workers in crucial areas of the national economy.

For the winter, for the provision of energy sources in the first quarter of 1990, the necessary availability of heating oil, lignite briquettes, hard coal, and blast furnace coke, the creation of a reserve for the cold, and the requirements for the supply of electricity, even under complicated winter conditions, have all been laid down. But we appeal to all consumers to save energy.

The material-technical requirements necessary for overcoming transport problems in winter conditions on the railways, the roads, at sea, and on inland waterways have been examined and are guaranteed.

With the plan for 1990, which is to be submitted to the People's Chamber for discussion in March, decisive factors of the new economic policy should be put into effect, along with initial steps in economic reform. Comprehensive work will be carried out, and thorough discussion will take place before the middle of February in the enterprises and combines and the area and district [kreis] councils. The plan must be based on real conditions, in particular with reference to the considerable changes in the social workforce, and must guarantee the proportional development of the national economy in accordance with the priorities set out in the government statement.

On the basis of the analysis of the past year, it is necessary, in preparing the plan for 1990, to lay down the following main points for the concentration of the available labor and material potential:

—guaranteeing the material provision of the national economy, in particular with supply products, energy sources, and raw materials to ensure continuous production;

—guaranteeing the provision of the population in accordance with the treaties agreed, in particular for the first 6 months of 1990;

—guaranteeing deliveries for the import of fuel sources and raw materials, as agreed with the USSR;

—guaranteeing exports provided for in the state guideline amounts to the nonsocialist economic area and mobilization of reserves to exceed them.

This must be linked to an economization of the total reproduction process, in particular through lowering unproductive input, in order to reduce the deficit in the state budget. We must face the fact that, on the basis of objective conditions, the volume of production in 1990 cannot reach a higher level than in 1989. Compared with the daily production level in November and December 1989, this production level for the year 1990 means a necessary increase in the achievement of the working day by 2.8 to 3 percent. This is a very tight objective for this period.

The government has discussed detailed and concrete stabilization measures that form the basis of the further completion of the plan. They include tasks to develop production for which there is demand, the priority development of domestic demand crucial to the national economy, as well as improved spare parts supplies, better auto maintenance, tasks for increasing the output of the meat and dairy industries, and beverage supplies, as well as the performance of the local service sector and utilities.

The present level of work makes it clear that it is necessary, starting in 1990, to work out a long-term stabilization program. Seen from today's perspective, this must, in accordance with the stages of the economic reform, continue to 1992. Obstacles will be removed and new arrangements will

become effective for the launching of private initiatives, above all, for increasing consumer goods production and the improvement of services, as well as for cooperation in the field of supplies.

In the government statement to the 12th session of the People's Chamber, I emphasized the harmonization of economy and ecology as a fundamental task to a greater degree than before. At present, four government commissions are working on concrete measures for improving the air quality in industrial complexes such as Dresden, Leipzig and Halle/Bitterfeld.

Initial results and investigations have shown that this is linked to production cuts and shutdowns such as, for instance, that for viscose yarn, linked to additional imports from the nonsocialist economic area, to the tune of about 120 million valuta mark. Therefore, these steps must be carefully considered and comprehensively discussed, including the consequences.

In the same way a new energy concept is being worked out. If lignite production is being reduced by about 19 million tonnes, which would mean 500,000 tonnes less dust pollution in the environment, this requires additional funds for energy supplies such as heating oil and imports of coal, but mainly requires concrete measures for saving energy, in which everybody must take part. Therefore, it is shown that such measures must be viewed in context and be carefully calculated. The government has concluded no agreements whatever with Western firms on the construction of new nuclear power stations.

If we assume that production and thus the national income, with a substantially reduced workforce, cannot be higher than in 1989, this has consequences for distribution. A rise in income must, therefore, be strictly linked to rising performances, and socially unjustified expenditure must be reduced.

A main line of the procedure consists in achieving the stability of the internal market by increasing, above all, the qualitative level of the goods fund. It is necessary to achieve a tangible acceleration of goods production that are in particular demand from the population, such as fashionable products and expensive technical products.

The government also undertakes to only promise that which can be fulfilled with greater efforts. It guarantees the savings investments of the population, and—I repeat—a currency reform is not on the agenda. The situation, however, requires us to note that demands that have no material bases in the real conditions cannot be fulfilled except by provoking a wage-price spiral. This would, however, seriously endanger, even hinder, the stabilization of the economy.

In all domestic political decisions, we are subjected to objective forces resulting from the material position of the GDR. One cannot avoid the fact that the funds of raw materials and other materials, as well as the available quantities of finished products, are limited. We also cannot ignore the fact that foreign currency for additional imports is only available if it is saved at another place or if it is worked for in addition.

The government does not find it easy to refuse justified demands. But it is far better to face up to unpleasant facts than to fall prey to illusions or to wait for miracles. Social conditions can only be improved to the extent that economic growth is achieved with good results. Work and work again is needed for this. This elementary principle also applies to the GDR.

With the pensions' increase in December 1989, the number of work years acquires a far greater importance for the amount of pension than it has so far. In this connection, many citizens have proposed a reform in providing and calculating pensions. They propose that periods in which they worked, but in which insurance contributions were not obligatory according to the regulations at the time, be made equal to an activity where insurance was obligatory. Therefore, these years would be recognized as working years. The majority of these people are working wives, former small and mediumn-sized farmers, and working wives of craftsmen, who were temporarily not obliged to pay insurance contributions within the framework of promotional measures for the financial unburdening of these farmers and craftsmen. They point out that, at that time, their occupational activity made an important contribution to supplying the population with foodstuffs and services, and see themselves disadvantaged if these years are not counted.

I think that this concern is justified, and have, therefore, set the task of presenting a proposal for a decision in this regard as to how these disadvantages may be eliminated as swiftly as possible. I have already pointed out in my government statement that it is necessary to shape the field of decisions for families with claim to social services in a more varied way, so that women and men may equally assume responsibility for family and household. That applies in particular to regulations on work time, holiday, paid leave in connection with birth, education of children, and the care of sick children, i.e. regulations that were to date only or predominantly valid for women. These questions should also be checked and positively decided on in connection with the scheduled law on changes to the labor code.

On the foreign economic results: The goal originally set for 1989 to obtain an export surplus, was not achieved. On the contrary, a lack of export performances and necessary additional imports to maintain production and supplies led to an import surplus by 31 December. The government will face up to the costs ensuing from this even if it is not responsible for this complicated situation. In order to reliably fulfill the foreign obligations payable [East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 1727 GMT on 11 January transmits a service message correcting the previous phrase as follows: "Due to the GDR's foreign obligations and its reputation of reliably fulfilling these obligations], it is necesary this year to realize high export income and to

deal more sparingly with imports. We must, without doubt, face up to such a limitation in the domestic economic possibilities.

It is of great national economic significance that the conclusion of the annual protocol with the USSR and the protocols with other socialist countries have given important principles for the further development of our national economy, in particular with the supply of vital energy carriers, raw materials, and other materials. The GDR's export obligations that arise from this must be a firm element of the plans of the enterprises and combines and of our joint efforts.

Great efforts are necessary in order to set the production and foreign trade structure for increasing export performances with a higher degree of effectiveness. This has to determine all measures in the foreign economic sphere. The positions secured in the markets should on no account be lost.

At the CEMA session that ended yesterday in Sofia, the GDR, like other member states, spoke in favor of preserving this international organization, while, however, subjecting the whole system of cooperation to a radical, fundamental renewal and democratization. There is agreement in putting a decisive end to administrative-bureaucratic methods of cooperation. With the increasing development of the market economy, the abilities of the international division of labor can be used more effectively for an increase in national economic effectiveness.

In correspondence with the economic restructuring process that is taking place in the majority of the member states—and this is known to be true for our German Democratic Republic, the enterprises and scientific institutions will become kingpins in international cooperation, too.

In the mutual trade of the CEMA countries during the next few years, the usual conditions on the world market will be used, above all, in the prices and charges. Because this will be linked for the countries, not least of all for the GDR, with far-reaching economic consequences, there is agreement to proceed gradually in this connection.

We have spoken in favor of the expansion of the relations with the USSR and the other CEMA countries and stated our readiness to achieve a new quality of cooperation through intensive economic cooperation and increasing the exchange of experience. At the same time, we see this as a considerable component of our contribution for a European peace order and the creation of suprasystem structure of cooperation. Here one's view is directed at the development of a pan-European economic area and the overcoming of the technological division.

Intensive East-West cooperation is in accordance with the economic and the political interests of the GDR. At the same time, it challenges us to do justice to the high standards of the worldwide economic competition. At the Sofia meeting, it was agreed that short-term measures for a basic change of CEMA in this sense would be prepared. A special commission made up of competent representatives of the countries was formed for this.

The opening of the borders to the FRG and West Berlin is also characteristic of the new economic situation in which we find ourselves. The government considers as urgent anything arranged so far for the protection of the domestic market and the currency through currency legislation, export regulations, and other methods. Most citizens adhere to the legal stipulations. Through increased customs controls, many attempts to illegally export GDR marks and subsidized goods have been thwarted. The tourist exchange rate of 1 to 3 is being accepted by most FRG and West Berlin citizens entering our country. This has led to a slight decrease in the illegal import of GDR marks. However, so far it has not been possible to exlcude or largely restrict damage to our domestic market through speculative money exchanges and the buying of goods. Analyses of the enormous tourist travel in the past weeks have shown the need for further steps, as well as agreements with the government authorities in the FRG and in West Berlin.

Now that the government, in view of the opened border, has already adopted a series of measures for the protection of GDR currency and the domestic market, a gradual change in the subsidy policy for basic goods must be considered. In this, the maxim advocated by broad circles of the population will be followed in order to abolish current product-linked subsidies in several stages, and to pay social benefits to individuals. This is also a standpoint that has been discussed by the round-table. The pensioners are not the least of the groups we have in mind.

We need an intensified economic reform. After the discussion with the directors-general, the government has laid down stipulations that, in the first instance, aim at increasing the individual responsibility of the enterprise and combine directors. Further steps are now being prepared for the independent, performance-related planning and application of wage funds, for the availability of certain valuta proportions, in particular for the speedy acquisition of spare parts and incidentals, for the development of effective cooperation relations, and forms of economic organization in the combines. Under the auspices of the industry ministers, eight combines are presently working out proposals that will then be generally applied.

All these steps are linked with the economic democratization that is emerging through the expansion of trade union co-determination in general and through the election of works councils. A ministerial body started work on economic coordination in the government at the beginning of the year in order to make rapid decisions on fundamental questions of economic development.

In the State Planning Commission, the Council of Ministers commissioned a working group for the material-technical

safeguarding of the plan implementation to decide immediately on supra-branch problems, and to make submissions to the Council of Ministers for decision.

The directors-general are empowered to submit directly to this group those issues that cannot be solved in their branches but that are of great importance for the development of production. Orders have been given to undertake production reorganization, in particular in engineering. This is aimed in particular at increasing the production of machine tools, polygraphic and textile machinery, machinery for food and luxury items, and plastics and elastic-processing machinery, which are in demand on the world market and which can be sold profitably.

In the interest of supplies in the domestic market, the combine director-generals have been authorized to make their own decisions for more rational performance structures within their spheres. This applies, for example, to questions of management in the parent enterprise and the amalgamation or reorganization of enterprises in their sphere according to the principle of groups of products.

A further decision by the Council of Ministers in connecton with the aforementioned labor force problem: The minister of labor and wages is instructed to draft a program for the deployment of the labor forces released in the framework of structural measures. Moreover, proposals must be submitted that promote a strengthening of the authority of the managers in the enterprises and institutions, in addition to labor discipline.

In line with the brief for a fundamental reform and democratization of the economic system of the GDR, the government intends to form an economic committee of the Council of Ministers, which, in place of the previous State Planning Commission, has been given the following tasks by the Council of Ministers:

1. To perform stategic and prognostic work that serves the development of an effective, socially and ecologically oriented structure of the national economy, and that is linked with a well-founded strategy and utilizes all the possibilities for GDR participation in an advantageous international division of labor.

2. To democratize the management of the economy by the Council of Ministers and its bodies, along with a high degree of self- responsibility and independence in the economic activity of the enterprises and combines in such a way that the knowledge and skills of economic experts, of natural and social scientists, as well as the expertise of all parties and political movements in our countr,y can also be brought to bear.

3. To guarantee coordinated work necessary for our economy's efficiency of all the responsible Council of Ministers bodies, in order to give the Council of Ministers improved bases for decision making, and to steadfastly focus priorities and safeguard the implementation of the decisions made.

In line with these aims, the government regards it as useful to establish a council in the economic committee, to be composed of competent economic experts, scientists, and representatives of social organizations. We also ask the roundtable to send representatives to that body.

I addressed myself here, above all, to industry. But this in no way means that the problems and the requirements of the other spheres of our economy and society are unknown or unimportant to the government. This government that took on responsibility 2 months ago, and has found no concepts for the solution of the problems to be dealt with, was able to tackle what was possible and naturally also had to set priorities for its activities. At the end of January, at the instigation of the government, discussions will take place with several hundred participants on the situation, as well as on the further work on the agricultural and foodstuffs economy.

For February, an exchange of opinion with the Academy of Sciences Presidium is planned in order to continue to discuss our country's scientific strategy with competent representatives from science.

The medical and social care of the citizens is at present being maintained by the great personal work of the colleagues in the health and social services. The social situation, which has existed for a long time, was clearly further intensified in 1989 with the departure of about 1,800 doctors and dentists, 5,000 nurses and other medical workers, as well as several thousand technical workers.

Many people in our country are spontaneously giving selfless help in this difficult situation. The government has arranged for the deployment of 4,000 construction soldiers, above all for technical spheres but also for the care services.

It was resolved to transform the former Wandlitz installation into a sanitorium, to use the former government hospital as well as the hospital of the former Ministry for State Security in Buch, for the care of the population, and to place further installations at the disposal of the health and social services.

With the increase in shift payments for nurses and others to a total wages sum of 130 million marks, further possibilities have been given to use available wages funds, to adjust them, and first steps have been made to overcome insufficient social recognition of the work in the health and social services, which had increasingly occurred during the past years.

The majority of the problems existing here are, however, still unresolved, and in addition to urgent wage questions for doctors, dentists, nurses, and other medical workers, there are serious tasks to be dealt with in order to overcome the bad construction condition of many health and social installations, the insufficient medical-technical equipment and opeating-technical fittings, as well as continued unstable supplies to the health service.

A preliminary step toward overcoming these has now been made by making additional resources available, which were originally plannned for importing video recorders, to obtain urgently needed equipment.

Esteemed deputies! Allow me now, in conclusion, to make some remarks on the international aspects of this government's work.

In the foreign policy sphere, the government has aimed to gain external credibility, to safeguard the international conditions for the process of renewal in the country and, if possible, to improve them further. As a result of those efforts, it can be said today that the GDR has proved itself reliable in it relations with the East and West and as predictable, in particular, to its neighbors. Externally we have been praised for the fact that the internal processes in the GDR, which can after all be described as stormy in part, have not harmed European stability so far. It is hoped that this will continue, and we intend to justify those hopes.

Relations with the states with which the GDR is allied in the Warsaw Pact are today, for the most part, free of problems. This is favorable for the path of renewal taken. We know how valuable it is that the Soivet Union is following developments in our country with sympathy. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has strongly underlined this in talks with me.

Cooperation with the USSR, our most important alliance and trading partner, has priority in the government's foreign policy. It is especially encouraging for us that political aims and ideas of both present and future developments, above all here in Europe, are largely identical. We can enter the year 1990 in perfect harmony with the Soviet leadership—which in Mikhail Gorbachev's words, must be a key year for disarmament, a year in which freedom, democracy and equality will be further implemented. The recent developments in the CSSR, in Romania and Bulgaria, have significantly strengthened the positions of renewal in these countries. They will promote the democratization of the alliance relations in the Warsaw Pact that we, too, support. We expect the further transformation of the Warsaw Pact into a political alliance above all to lead to favorable conditions for the disarmament policy of the allied states, which takes into account the process of rapprochement of East and West in Europe.

The government has worked in this spirit in the political and military bodies of the Warsaw Pact and in the Vienna disarmament negotiations. We want to help achieve an initial specific agreement in Vienna this year. We made it clear in the Vienna negotiations that the GDR is prepared to make further reductions in its armed forces while preserving equality and security. Above all, we want the agreements concluded in Vienna to lead to a reduction in the extraordinarily high military potentials that are concentrated in Central Europe. This would further reduce the personnel, material, and financial demands on national defense. In the GDR Government's view, basic conclusions from security policy developments that have emerged in this area since the end of World War II are necessary and possible. Indeed, one should even speak of a break here. The GDR therefore supports the proposal to hold a summit meeting of the CSCE states this year.

The government has made great efforts during the last weeks for the expansion of cooperation in Europe, also in the western direction. Clear results were achieved in talks and negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany, with Austria, France, and with the European Communities. They are also helping to guarantee and improve the external conditions for democratic renewal and economic development in the country, and for increased meetings between the people. In this spirit I also had talks with the U.S. secretary of state, and I had a detailed telephone conversation with the prime minister of Japan. The public has been informed in detail by the media about the essence of these meetings and the agreements reached. Today it can be stated that numerous agreements reached with the FRG are in the meantime being implemented. This is also true of the hard currency fund agreed on for the citizens of the GDR. In the interests of the implementation of this regulation from the beginning of January, which was without doubt in accordance with very many wishes, the intended confirmation of this fund for 1990 could not be obtained by the People's Chamber. At the time when this was submitted for discussion with the first reading of the travel law, the agreement with the FRG had to have been reached already, not least of all for the proper preparation of such an extensive financial-political measure. After the implementation of the travel law, things can proceed as planned.

It is perceivable to millions of people and visible to the whole world that in the last 2 months an extraordinary intensification of relations between the GDR and the FRG, and with West Berlin, has been achieved. It goes far and above what was hitherto usual. The GDR Government understands the great interest abroad in these developments. It has also noted that in this connection, above all with neighbors of the two states, reservations and even fears have been expressed that could ensue from a newly arising German question. On behalf of the GDR Government, I would like to stress this point: We are conscious of the fact that basic lines of European policy and world policy are being affected by the existence and the relationship of the two German states to each other. We are conscious of the responsibility linked with this. The GDR stands by its peace policy and will do nothing that could encroach upon the stability of Europe. Our position on the European borders, namely on the Oder-Neisse border with Poland, is definitive. Answers to new vital questions of European policy, which are of benefit to the peoples, can only be found in a politically stable Europe.

The government of the GDR, and it is not alone, is of the opinion that a unification of the GDR and FRG is not on

the agenda. The prospects of the relationship of the German states toward each other is a question for the future. The answer must and can only be placed in the context of pan-European development. We are following the thoughts of a common European home in the understanding that the gradual elimination of the East-West conflict should lead to overcoming the division of Europe. This requires a deepening in European cooperation that goes as far as the dissolution of the military alliances and far-reaching disarmament, whereby it must be said here that on the side of the Warsaw Pact, existing preconditions in the NATO framework have, up to now, not yet found an equal match. The GDR and the FRG with their planned treaty-based community can greatly promote the European process. In this way, they will also cooperate in European interests.

As you know, honored deputies, Federal Chancellor Kohl and I agreed in Dresden to continue the meetings and to reach further important agreements. It is in the interests of Europe and in the interests of the two German states that the economy of the GDR is quickly put in the position of being effective in the international division of labor to a great extent and with a higher degree of effectiveness. This requires substantial financial support by the FRG. This will definitely be of benefit to the people in both states.

In this connection, I would also point out that there can be no question of a sellout of the GDR. Anyone who deduces this from, for example, an agreement between our IFA [private car combine] Kombinat-Personenkraftwagen and the Volkswagen Corporation for the development of a modern small car is making a mistake. This also applies to further projects for cooperation, capital involvement, or marketing associations. The interests of the GDR, above all of the working people, continue to be guaranteed.

To put it plainly: It is not an excessive but rather an insufficient turning of the GDR toward international cooperation that has helped bring our economy to the present situation. It is not the so-called national self-sufficiency that we need, but international division of labor. Everything that we are doing today and that must be done in future should serve to make the lives of the citizens of the GDR easier and given them cause to remain in their ancestral homeland. Neither we nor the Federal Republic can be interested in the opposite development, such as we have experienced in the past year. At this present time, everyone should see his own responsibility for himself and his family, for the further democratic renewal of the GDR, for a cooperative relationship of the two German states, and for peaceful coexistence in Europe.

Dear deputies, in these 8 weeks, the government has striven to the best of its ability to do justice to the tasks entrusted to it. It has—like the GDR as a whole—ventured a new beginning, for which it must face the judgment of the people and the People's Chamber. When and where it has done something, this is a joint result; it is a result of the coalition. Cooperation in this coalition was and is constructive. Mutual briefing and consultation is just as much a part of normal relations as is the critical word. I must express thanks for this cooperation. Above all, I would like to ask the People's Chamber and the citizens of our country to trust my government for a further stretch of the road and to support it. And at this hour, too, I also appeal to the roundtable to work with us in a constructive manner in full responsibility vis-a-vis the people.

Official Explains Security Office Closure

AU1001164990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Former State Security Ministry Had 85,000 Employees"]

[Text] East Berlin—In connection with the dissolution of the Office for National Security, "about 2,000 objects" ["2,000 Objekte"] are under discussion. About 400 have already been cleared. This concerns mainly former district [kreis] offices and, partly, also area [bezirk] offices. Another 400 objects [etwa 400 Objekte] are about to be cleared. This was announced by the government representative responsible for the dissolution of the Office for National Security, Dr. Koch, on television on Friday evening [5 January].

The number of employees [Mitarbeiter] of the former Ministry for State Security totaled 85,000. This figure included the guard regiment and officials responsible for the protection of persons, totaling 18,000; the rear forces with 8,000 men; 1,000 [mit 1,000] employees in the sphere of finance and sports; 4,000 cadres and officials in the field of training; and 7,500 employees in the sphere of technical services and intelligence services. So far, about 25,000 members [Mitarbeiter] have quit their jobs.

Asked about the weapons that belonged to the office, the jurist stated that provisions have been made for the weapons to be placed at the disposal of the Interior Ministry. They are currently kept under lock and key. Dr. Koch had ordered their immediate seizure and made arrangements for them to be kept in such a way by the People's Police that access to these weapons by former members of the office can be ruled out.

Concerning compensation payments for former members of the office, which has recently caused concern among the public, Dr. Koch explained: "We must proceed from the fact that we have a law on military service. This law also applies to former members of the Office for National Protection, which means that the rules governing compensation payments are also applicable to these members. Currently, we proceed from the assumption that they will receive the difference between 80 percent of the net pay they received before their dismissal and the net payment they will receive in their new job." The government is currently reconsidering these problems.

1957 Verdict Against Janka, Others Quashed

LD0501173490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1536 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlinn (ADN)—The GDR's Supreme Court has today quashed the verdict passed in 1957 on the former head of the Aufbau publishing house, Walter Janka, and his fellow accused conspirators, Gustav Just, Heinz Zoeger and Richard Wolf, for "incitement to boycott" and has absolved them from all guilt.

At the end of the quashing procedure initiated by the GDR's state prosecutor, the president of the Supreme Court, Dr Guenter Sarge, gave a reason for the illegality of the verdict at that time. The four's thoughts had not been directed toward changing the constitutional order in the GDR. The social changes in the GDR they were aiming for also had not contradicted the Constitution. They were only concerned about a process of democratization in the GDR, the necessity for which was clear after the 20th CPSU Party Congress. The Supreme Court's decision has recognized the claim to compensation of those unjustly sentenced. [passage omitted]

1st 'German-German Military Summit' Held 17 Jan

LD1701100290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0848 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Vienna (ADN)—Lieutenant General Manfred Graetz, deputy GDR defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, and Federal Army Inspector Genehral Admiral Dieter Wellershoff met in Vienna today for the first German-German military summit. The meeting took place on the sidelines of the seminar on military doctrine that began yesterday and that has brought together high-ranking military officials of the CSCE states. [passage omitted]

FRG, GDR Border Commanders Meet in Selmsdorf

AU1701100590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jan 90 p 2

[ADN/ND report: "GDR and FRG Border Commanders: Guaranteeing Order and Security"]

[Text] Grevesmuehlen (ADN/ND)—On Wednesday [10 January] commanders of the FRG Border Protection Troops from the FRG Land of Schleswig-Holstein and from the GDR Coastal Border Brigade met for a first informal talk at the Selmsdorf checkpoint. The representatives of the border protection organs presented their views on the topical situation at the sea border in the southwest Baltic. After the opening of the borders between the two German states, the guaranteeing of order and security in the citizens' interests continues to be important. Ensuring quick, trustful mutual information and cooperation in complicated situations is especially important.

In addition, questions of the expected cross-border traffic of pleasure boats between the two states were discussed. The entering and leaving of GDR harbors is planned via checkpoints. There the pleasure boats will be granted the right of passage.

The partners in the talk agreed on speedy help in the case of accidents and the discovery of cross-border water pollution, in order to create the prerequisites for the work of the responsible authorities. In the case of encounters between their ships and boats at sea, both sides want to attach importance to traditional practices. Contacts to deal with practical questions of naval traffic at the border in the bays of Luebeck and Mecklenburg are to be maintained in the future.

Diethelm Bruecker, commander of the FRG Coastal Border Protection Troops, and Police Director Siegfried Gehrke, commander of the FRG Naval Border Protection Troops and, on the part of the GDR, Rear Admiral Herbert Staedtke and Commander Dietrich Reimann participated in the meeting.

Japan's Prime Minister Kaifu Continues Visit

Meets Nemeth

LD1601181290 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—Headed by Prime Ministers Miklos Nemeth of Hungary and Toshiki Kaifu of Japan. Bilateral plenary talks were held on Tuesday [16 January], with Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn and Taro Nakayama in attendance. The Hungarian head of government briefly assessed the state of bilateral links, and then his Japanese counterpart outlined the support Japan intends to provide to Hungary on a bilateral basis and under the Brussels G-24 relief programme.

Japan's Eximbank is to offer a 500-million-dollar credit package over the next three years. The package consists of freely usable loans, Eximbank's credit guarantees and loans associated with the IMF credits. The Japanese Government has raised the sum of the export guarantee from 200 million dollars to 400 million.

Over the next five years, Japan is to pay the tuition costs incurred by the training and extension training of 100 Hungarian experts annually.

Japan is ready to consider the support the easing of Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] restrictions towards Hungary. Miklos Nemeth offered to present the Japanese Government with the memorandum he had forwarded to the U.S. government on the subject. The Japanese side pledged to examine the document.

The Hungarian prime minister called for regular ministerial meetings and Foreign Ministry consultations to be held in future. The Japanese side raised the idea of establishing relations between the legislative bodies and parliamentary committees. The Hungarian side approved of the concept.

The Japanese side agreed with the Hungarian proposal that an investment protection agreement be concluded between the two countries.

More on Meeting

OW1601165290 Tokyo KYODO in English 1601 GMT 16 Jan 90

[By Mitsuru Mabuchi]

[Text] Budapest, Jan. 16 KYODO—Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu met Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on Tuesday and agreed to begin talks on an investment protection agreement that would help open the way to Japanese investment in the East European country. In a 90-minute session which focused mainly on bilateral issues, Kaifu responded to Nemeth's call for greater Japanese investment in his country by also agreeing to send a fact-finding mission to Hungary in March to study business opportunities there.

Kaifu said Japan will work to further ease unnecessary restrictions on militarily-sensitive exports to Soviet-bloc countries imposed by the Paris-based coordinating committee for export control to Communist area (COCOM).

On the last stop of his 11-day swing through Europe, Japan's prime minister agreed on a management training program that will allow 100 Hungarians to come to Japan each year for special instruction. The two also reached broad agreement on the need to boost cultural exchanges between the two countries, and pledged to begin work on a project to develop a Japanese-Magyar dictionary. Kaifu added that Japan is prepared to sponsor a joint international expo by Hungary and Austria to be held in 1995.

Nemeth thanked Kaifu for Japan's technological and financial assistance, including its willingness to extend "most favored nation" trade status to Hungary. Japan earlier pledged 500 million dollars in loans to Hungary through the government-backed Export and Import Bank of Japan and has also promised 25 million dollars to boost technical assistance to Poland and Hungary.

The Hungarian leader praised the joint venture agreement reached last week with Japanese carmaker Suzuki Motor Co. to manufacture and assemble Hungarian vehicles. Nemeth said the preliminary agreement for the 139 million dollar projects sets a good example and urged similar joint ventures in electronics and pharmaceutical manufacturing. Hungary also plans to buy 1,500 ambulances from Toyota Motor Corp. in what will be one of the biggest import deals between the two countries, Nemeth said.

Nemeth said Comecon, the East bloc's 40-year-old trading system, needs to be overhauled so that its members will be better equipped to integrate with economies in the European Community. The Hungarian leader said proposals made at a meeting of Comecon members in Sofia, Bulgaria, last week to set prices based on the international market and convertible currencies pointed in the right direction.

With regard to East-West relations, Nemeth said relations based upon rigid ideologies is a thing of the past, adding that smaller nations will now be in a better position to exercise influence in the global political arena.

The Hungarian leader added that the Soviet Union appears willing to gradually transform the Warsaw Pact into a political entity as it reduces its military role.

He further welcomed Japan's new committment to European development as exemplified by its latest political and economic initiatives.

Grants $500 Million in Credits

LD1601120790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Peter Zentai report]

[Text] Our hopes regarding the Japanese Prime Minister's visit have been fulfilled to the maximum extent. He announced at the talks a few minutes ago that we will receive credits, guaranteed by the government, amounting to $500 million; along with this, he reported that Japan is raising the limit of export credit insurance from the previous $200 million to $400 million.

Upon leaving the negotiating chamber, Minister Tamas Beck told me the following: This month, Japanese investors will come to Hungary to sign the investment protection agreement. Tamas Beck will also take part in the signing ceremony this afternoon, according to the terms of which the Hungarian ambulance service will get 1,300 ambulances from the Japanese firm Toyata. This is the result of a tender; the price per vehicle will be $11,250.

Parties Criticized at Yugoslav Party Meeting

LD1201135590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] At yesterday's meeting of the Serbian League of Communists, one of the participants stated that certain groups in Hungary are interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

Reporting on the session that evaluated changes in East Europe, the Belgrade-based POLITIKA writes that in the debate, parties in Hungary were also accused of criticizing the modification in 1989 of the Serbian Republic's Constitution because they believe that it has violated the rights of the Hungarian national minority in Serbia.

Szuros on Changes in E. Europe, USSR

LD0601021790 Budapest MTI in English 0021 GMT 6 Jan 90

Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI)—The international scene also wishes the Hungarian democratic transformation to take place peacefully and under calm circumstances, said Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, in Hajduboszormeny on Friday [5 January] at a meeting with local party leaders.

Mr Szuros was appreciative of the fact that dictatorial regimes surrounding Hungary had virtually collapsed. Yet it is also obvious that the situation is very complex in the Soviet Union, Romania is only at the start of the road to democratization, and the settlement of the German question does not appear to be easy. Mr Szuros said German reunification is inevitable, but it is not a matter of indifference when and how it will take place. He felt the European powers will also have a say.

Speaking on the Soviet Union, he said that Hungary is interested in the success of Gorbachev's policy, and the Soviet Union would also be very keen to see the success of the Hungarian transformation.

NATO Delegation Arrives in Budapest

LD1601222190 Budapest MTI in English 2145 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—A 19-member delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly arrived in Budapest on Tuesday at the invitation of the defence and foreign affairs committees of parliament. The delegation, headed by George Bruce, president of the Political Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly, is composed of representatives of the FRG, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Canada and Turkey.

The delegation visited the Ministry of Defence and met brigadier General Jozsef Biro, first deputy chief-of-staff and chief of the operational division of the People's Army. Mr Biro gave briefs on the situation of the Hungarian People's Army, the reforms introduced in the Ministry of defence and the Army, the forthcoming changes, and some topical issues of security policy and confidence-building concerning the Warsaw Treaty.

'Anxiety' Over USSR Military Project on Border

LD1601203290 Budapest MTI in Engish 1925 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—On Monday, "Panorama", a political magazine of the Hungarian television, broadcast shots about an alleged military project built in Soviet Subcarpathia and interviews with some locals who expressed anxiety over the construction. Since the project is being built near the Hungarian border, an MTI correspondent asked Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, whether the ministry had formally inquired about the project.

Since the Ministry of Defence was informed about the project by the population some weeks ago, it asked the competent officials of the Soviet Army for further information. According to the answer, which arrived some days ago, a radio locator station is being built in the vicinity of Mukachevo. The electromagnetic field intensity generated by the project will remain well below the internationally accepted limit both in the vicinity of the project and along the border. The station is located and its aerial directed in a way that they do not endanger the population and the environment either around the project or in Hungary. The station is not equipped, and will never be equipped, by any nuclear reactor, Colonel Gyorgy Keleti said.

Effects of Shortfall in USSR Crude Oil Viewed

LD0901114290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] An alarming rumor has spread that there will not be enough gasoline. Janos Hollos asked Mrs. (Karoly Solti), head of the energy supplies department in the OKGT [National Crude Oil and Gas Industry Trust] about this.

[Begin recording] [(Solti)] Earlier, the OKGT received a promise in writing from the Soviet partner for the January delivery of 518,000 tonnes of crude oil. In contrast, at the end of December, the Soviet side told us that it would fulfill this only to the tune of 393,000 tonnes. In order to avoid a shortage in internal supplies, mainly gasoline for engines, the OKGT has taken measures and charged the relevant trade enterprise with bringing in, in non-ruble accounted imports, 200,000-250,000 tonnes of crude oil and 30,000 tonnes of gasoline.

[Hollos] Yet this amounts to a shortage of 100,000 tonnes. You now say that 200,000 tonnes have been ordered from the West. Does this mean that you expect that not only in January the Soviets will not fulfill the promised amount?

[(Solti)] No. Not only is that the issue at hand, primarily, but in December 1989 the Soviets had already reduced the crude oil contingent to be delivered to Hungary by 150,000 tonnes.

[Hollos] To put it in straightforward terms, can we prepare in the long-term for receiving less and less crude oil from the Soviets?

[(Solti)] Nothing can be said about that now. We have no substantive information from the Soviets regarding the remaining part of the year. [end recording]

Internal Security Service Chief Resigns

LD1701093290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The head of the Interior Ministry's internal security service has resigned. Jozsef Horvath wrote to the interior minister requesting his release from office because he felt that confidence had been shaken vis-a-vis both the internal security service and himself.

The major general told MTI that all documents had been submitted for the prosecutor's investigation connected with state security activity in order to help their work.

According to Jozsef Horvath, the internal security service's activity was not unconstitutional, and since it was trying to adapt its activity to the Constitution amended in October, it became a victim of political skirmishes; nor did the head of the internal security service regard as correct the proceeding whereby the body was already pronounced guilty at the beginning of the investigation. Precisely for this reason Major General Jozsef Horvath decided to resign his former office.

Secret Documents Found in Garbage

LD1601114990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] It is a novelty in press history that the editorial of REFORM has announced an embargo on its own newspaper, until Friday. Anna Lengyel has asked Peter Toeke, editor-in-chief, about the reason for this.

[Begin recording] [Lengyel] REFORM will be published late this week. We asked Editor in Chief Peter Toeke why.

[Toeke] The issue at hand is that a reader of our paper phoned last week, saying that he found documents containing extremely important military secrets in one of the town's garbage cans. Our reporter went to the location and brought in the documents. We were convinced that these really were very important documents. We then contacted the Ministry of Defense and certain measures were necessary. They ordered an investigation, which involved 40 officers and 120 soldiers poking around in all the garbage cans in the town.

Since we regarded this as a joint action by the Ministry of Defense and REFORM, we began to investigate this affair. This is why it was necessary not to distribute or issue the paper until a certain date. We agreed that together with our article, we would hold a joint news conference in the Ministry of Defense, and this will take place at 1000 [0900 GMT] on Friday morning [19 January]. Colonel Keleti and I will brief those who are interested in what really happened.

[Lengyel] Is this affair, which you will announce, so important that it was necessary for the mechanism to be started, as it was previously?

[Toeke] This affair is just as important as Dunagate [Hungarian equivalent to Watergate]

[Lengyel] Is it similar in its subjects?

[Toeke] It is similiar. Very important secret documents were stolen. In the other case, public interest is at stake since it has been proved that antidemocratic forces are operating and that phone-tapping is going on; in this case, similarly, important papers and documents were stolen, but these concern cooperation among several socialist countries in line with the Warsaw Pact, so, in this case, something else—treason—is at issue. Frankly speaking, to steal an entire file of papers and other things from a most secret place is beyond doubt a very serious step.

[Lengyl] Can you tell us the provincial town in which these were found?

[Toeke] If possible, we will keep this to ourselves until Friday because several correspondents will go over there and begin to make enquiries of various dustmen. So we will keep this to ourselves, for the time being, until Friday. It would cause enormous damage if it were necessary to change certain things now in 6, 8, or 10 countries. This could amount to several hundred million forints. Up to now, the final moment, we thought that we would disregard the matter; rather, we will show the process, the path of the secret, how the investigation got underway, how the mechanism takes measures. The remainder which we will show, from the document, is

that it should be possible to see part of the photocopy. The frontpages of REFORM will itself be a secret document.

Pozsgay Asks To Resign Media Post

LD1601121790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Imre Pozsgay has asked the government to relieve him from the post of chairman of the committee that supervises radio and television. The minister of state has sent a statement to MTI in which he rejects the opposition's linking his name with decisions in which he could not take part by virtue of his sphere of jurisdiction. Imre Pozsgay believes that forces have appeared in Hungarian public life which are endeavoring to replace the lies that are fading away with new lies. He emphazises at the same time that at the moment there are no means to correct the false presentation of issues. The necessary tolerance is also lacking. This is why Imre Pozsgay has decided to leave the position of chairman of the supervisory committee.

Price Increases Cause Panic Buying, Hoarding

LD1201152790 Budapest MTI in English 1402 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 12, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The week before the drastic price rises were introduced in Hungary on January 8, Hungarians indulged in panic buying, buying up many times the usual quantities of food.

The boom began in the Christmas rush, when consumers purchased between 40 to 70 per cent more food than a year earlier, minister of Trade, Tamas Beck, said in the report he made public on Friday.

Last week, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth called upon Mr Beck to give reasons for the recent hitches in retail food supply. The minister of trade pointed out that pre-announced price rises will, as a matter of course, result in a wave of buying up, and added that the Ministry of Trade had not played a role in the recent price rises. He warned that high prices could result in the accumulation of huge stocks of goods, causing losses to traders.

To maintain an appropriate supply, state subsidies for pork were boosted to 374 million forints ($5.8 million) in the fourth quarter of 1989, and the proportion of subsidies did not fall in the first week of 1990 either.

Five million US dollars' worth of pork was imported into Hungary, $7.5 million was allocated for the import of paprika, and the food processing industry was extended 100 million forints' worth of credit. $1.5 million was spent on cooking oil and oil bottling, done abroad on commission, because supply did not match the highly-increased demand owing to a shortage of packaging capacity. Hungary also imported margarine worth $500,000.

In spite of a rise in the consumer and wholesale prices of meat, pig breeders continue to keep back their animals from slaughter in an effort to obtain 3-5 forints more per kilo of pork than the average wholesale price of 66 forints per kilo ($1). Hungarian abattoirs only managed to process the same amount of meat in the whole of last week as they usually do during a day.

All this compares with the first two weeks of last year, when prices were also raised and meat complexes purchased and processed 190,000 pigs, three times more than this year.

More Price Rises Planned for 1 Feb

LD1501201290 Budapest MTI in English 1556 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 15, 1990 (MTI-Econews)—Public transport is to go up by an average 30 per cent, and some telecommunications services by 11 per cent in Hungary, with effect February 1.

Urban transport fares are to go up by 55 per cent, and railway fares by 20 per cent. A tram ticket in Budapest will cost 8 forints (from 5 now) and a bus ticket 10 forints (now 6). A monthly pass for all transport will go up from 280 to 450 forints (7.1. USD). Train fares are to go up by an average of 26 per cent, long-distance bus fares by 20 per cent, and public transport in rural cities by 45 per cent.

The Hungarian telecommunications company will raise the charges for operator-mediated inland trunk calls by 30 per cent for calls in the medium-distance charge bands, and by 60 per cent for long distance calls. The monthly telex subscription fee will increase to 1,000 forints from February 1.

The Central Statistical Office says these rises will affect 2 per cent of individuals' consumption and boost the price level by 0.6 per cent on average. The rise will, however, be closer to 1 per cent in Budapest.

A statistical office report says the price rises announced after January 1 this year affect 30 per cent of individuals' consumption and boost the inflation level by 10 per cent. In stark money terms, this means that an individual should earn 6-700 forints more montly just to be able to maintain last year's standard of living. Public transport is free of charge for senior citizens over 70.

MSZMP: Promises Broken on Unemployment, Prices

LD1501233590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Jan 90

[Text] According to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee, the government is breaking the promises it made to the people and is not fulfilling its obligations to the majority of working people in society. The MSZMP states that prices and unemployment are rising and that there is growing insecurity about daily existence. The MSZMP Central

Committee thinks that there is a growing threat from right-wing extremists and anarchy. For this reason it protests against the persecution of people of left-wing and communist convictions.

Sale of Uranium Mine to RSA Denied

LD1501022790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Gossip and denials about the fate of the Mecsek uranium mine. So much for the recent past. They say that the fate of the mine has now been cleared up. Here is Csaba Belenesi's report:

[Belenesi] There is no question of the South Africans buying the Pecs uranium mine. There have not even been discussions about such a business connection, said Mihaly Varga, managing director of the Mecsek ore-mining enterprise. The way the rumor started was obviously that the Budapest visit by South African foreign minister Pik Botha was linked with the already-reported fact that an unnamed Western firm had transmitted a statement of intent to the mine, in which it signalled its readiness to conduct concrete discussions about the sale of uranium abroad. This firm is not South African; it does not want to sell the uranium in South Africa. Consequently, not even the folkloric element of the gossip is true, according to which Pik Botha is supposed to have paid a visit to the Mecsek ore-mining enterprise in Pecs incognito. At the same time, Managing Director Mihaly Varga said he hopes that their intention to sell their product at a favorable price on the Western market will, indeed, be realized and that as a result the uranium mine will not have to be closed after all.

Opinion Poll Favors HDF to Win Mar Elections

LD1701113290 Budapest MTI in English 1044 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—The Hungarian public opinion research institute interviewed a representative cross-section of the public between December 14 and 19, 1989, about the election chances the various Hungarian parties have. The results of the survey, which involved 1,000 people, are carried in the Wednesday issue of the newspaper "MAGYAR HIRLAP".

'Which party would you vote for?', one question ran. 18 per cent said they would favour the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), 12 per cent the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), 11 per cent the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), 10 per cent the Independent Smallholders' Party, and 6 per cent the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), while 4 per cent went for the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH). A large proportion of those questioned were don't knows (22 per cent), and 17 per cent gave a party other than those listed.

Only two-thirds of respondents said they would definitely feel the same way at the March elections. Supporters of the Independeent Smallholders' party were the most resolute in this: 85 per cent said they would unquestionably be voting for that party at the elections. This ratio for the other parties was as follows: HSP, 69 per cent, HDF, 65 per cent, AFD, 65 per cent, SDPH, 64 per cent, and FIDESZ, 53 percent.

The survey also revealed that HSP and SDPH supporters would put the Hungarian Democratic Forum in second place, while the AFD and FIDESZ camps are very close to each other. The Hungarian Socialist Party can expect to win over the fewest number of supporters from other parties in the run-up to the elections.

Szuros Unable To Forecast Election Results

LD0501223990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] And now, a prognosis on the final result of the presidential election: According to Matyas Szuros, for the time being, the results of the parliamentarian elections cannot even be guessed because the parties are secretive and scheming.

During his visit to Hajduboszormeny, the provisional president of the republic said that the election will be a good opportunity for the parties to prove in a fair contest and in a political fight free of personal attacks that Hungary belongs to Europe.

Ministry Sets Election Regulations

LD1101141790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] The Ministry of the Interior has issued a decree regulating the conduct of the deputy elections set for 25 March, together with some of the deadlines. According to this, the so-called candidate proposal slips may be collected from 24 January until 23 February. As for the candidates themsleves, they have to be registered with the relevant election committees by 23 February. The election campaign will last until midnight on 23 March. The preliminary election results will be published on 26 March. The citizens must be notified by 24 January that they are included in the electoral lists.

MSZMP To Participate in Mar Elections

LD1301213390 Budapest MTI in English 1932 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 13 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) will hold the second round of its 14th congress on January 27. The decision was made in the first session of the party's Central Committee [CC] on Saturday [13 January].

HSWP President Gyula Thurmer told the press that the Central Committee assessed the first round of the congress held last December, and established that a new, modern Marxist party has emerged and got involved in political life. The CC reconfirmed that the party was prepared to cooperate with all left-wing forces, the trade

unions and the agrarian and cooperative movements, and sought to maintain balanced relations with the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP).

The HSWP CC decided that the party, rallying about 82,000 members, would take part in the parliamentary elections in March. The party strives to prevent a right-wing turn and establish a marked left-wing representation in the National Assembly. The CC repeatedly dissociated itself from the errors and crimes of the past decades but resolutely protested against all forms of the persecution of left-wing people and Communists, nor does it support the witch-hunting initiated by the HSP.

Mr Thurmer said the HSWP did not accept that the assets of the former party were managed only by one of the successor parties.

The HSWP president announced that "SZABADSAG" (freedom), the party's paper, would be published in late January.

Private Entrepreneurs Party Outlines Platform

LD0801171190 Budapest MTI in English 1536 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8, 1990 (MTI-ECONONEWS)—The Hungarian Private Entrepreneurs' Party would like to see Hungary become a country of free enterprise, a party spokesman told newsmen. The spokesman said his party was convinced that after the fully-fledged social transformations, the number of private entrepreneurs will swell to several hundred thousand in Hungary.

He said the current economic representation organizations left private entrepreneurs hopelessly underrepresented in parliament.

The party believes that taxes are too high, and that the current 53 per cent social security payable by employers should also go down. The Private Entrepreneurs' Party accused the current economic leadership of mismanaging funds, and warned that the country's external debt will continue to grow if the current economic policy continues.

Szuros on President's Party Membership

LD0801231390 Budapest MTI in English 2205 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 8 (MTI)—I take it seriously that the president should rise above the parties' political interests and represent the state and the nation as a whole. In other words, he must play a balancing, integrating role. This is why I have not joined the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP). I announced after October 23 that I would not attend the sessions of the HSP Presidium, which accepted my position as inevitable. I must add that although the Constitution in force allows the president of the republic to be a party member, it prohibits him from accepting any party post so his membership is only a formality, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, told an MTI correspondent in Debrecen on Monday.

The interim head of state reacted to an article in Monday's "NEPSZABADSAG" in which Mrs Madl Ilona Maar, member of the HSP Presidium, expressed her surprise over the fact that Mr Szuros had not joined the Socialist Party.

In reply to questions, I announced repeatedly in dailies and weeklies that I had not formally joined the HSP because of my function of head of state. After the party congress I considered myself a HSP member since I had for long striven to found a left-wing socialist party in the European sense of the word, Mr Szuros said, although I conceived the party otherwise than it was established. This is not the main issue for me. I attended the founding session of the HSP's parliamentary group where we confirmed our affiliation with our signature.

Mr Szuros said that the deadline for joining the HSP did not expire when the amended constitution took place on October 23 and he became the interim president of the new republic. From that time on, I held it as correct formally not to join the party until I fulfil the functions of the head of state, Mr Szuros said.

According to Mr Szuros, it will remain a correct attitude if the elected president suspends his party membership for his term in office. There are some examples for that in Western Europe, for instance in the FRG, Mr Szuros said.

Now, when we are preparing for parliamentary elections, I would make it clear again that my platform can be summed up in four words: (the necessity of being) Hungarian, European, democratic and progressive. I belong to the democratic, socialist left wing in the European sense of the word, to the party and movement which is part and parcel of each functioning democracy in Europe. I advocate the establishment of a free, democratic Hungary in which the socialists occupy an important place among the democrats, like they do in Austria, Finland or Sweden.

Mr Szuros said that he would start in the parliamentary elections as the candidate of the HSP in the Puspokladany-based constituency of Hajdu-Bihar County, and hold it as a honour if his candidacy is supported by other parties and broad circles of the population, too.

Draft Law on Political Parties Approved

LD1601131390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] The Council of Ministers has approved a draft law on political parties during deliberations which ended last night. In line with the adopted draft, the legal procedure for the creation of political parties will have a completely liberal rather than restrictive character. The party will aquire legal status by way of its application to the political party records, conducted by the Supreme Court. Concordance between the party's aims and activities and the Constitution will be examimed by the Constitutional Tribunal. The parties will not be able to conduct organizational activity in places of work, state office, and in units subordinate to the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs.

The Council of Ministers also approved a draft law on changes in certain regulations on pensioners' provisions.

Poll Says Poles Less Optimistic About Economy

LD1601165590 Warsaw PAP in English 1625 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 16—In the survey held by the Public Opinion Polling Centre last Dec 18 and 19, 51 percent of the polled, 6 points less than in November, were of the opinion that during the next three years the standard of living in Poland would improve. Meanwhile the number of those who feared deterioration of the living conditions went up from 9 percent last November to 24 percent in December 1989.

Greater pessimism was also visible in the opinions concerning social moods. 27 percent of the polled assessed them as (mainly) good or very good (33 percent of such opinions in November). 47 percent said they were bad (in November - 43 percent), 17 percent termed them as very bad (in November 10 percent).

AFP Reports Miners Strike in Silesia

AU1701082090 Paris AFP in English 0318 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 17 (AFP)—Strikes broke out Tuesday in Poland's southwestern mining region as workers occupied mines to demand higher wages to cope with recent drastic price increases, union sources there said.

The strikes were being led by the OPZZ union, close to the Communist Party. Mineworkers were demanding the equivalent of 21 to 28 dollars in wage hikes per month, or more than a third of their average 60 dollar per month salaries, and the removal of mine officials.

The Polish Government on December 31 announced a series of dramatic price increases to take effect January 1 as part of its long-range attempt to convert to a market economy.

Sources said three mines in Lower Silesia were being occupied while a fourth in Upper Silesia had stopped running.

Workers at a fifth mine went back on the job after Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki telephoned them personally.

The Polish news agency PAP described the situation in Upper Silesia as tense, as workers at five more mines threatened to join the movement.

Sources in Silesia said talks between local officials and a delegation of strikers had reached a dead-end. A delegation of strikers composed of both OPZZ and Solidarity members was to meet with Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz.

Reykowski on Need for Strong Left-Wing Party

AU1001083590 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU (PUNKT WIDZENIA Supplement) in Polish 6 Dec 89 pp 3, 4

[Article by Janusz Reykowski, Polish United Workers Party Politburo member: "On The Road To Democracy"]

[Excerpts] The party's loss of authority is one of the leading topics of the pre-congress debate. This fact is causing a lot of bitterness and regret. These feelings come as no surprise, and it is difficult to argue against them. Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider the entire matter carefully. It seems that when party members talk of a loss of authority, they have various things in mind.

Some members mean the election defeat, wondering how it came about and whose fault it was. Others mean something more: "power slipping from the party's hands" and the disappearance of the party's leading role. These people think it was a great mistake to decide to reach an accord with the opposition. They believe that the party has been neglected, and even that its interests have been betrayed. [passage omitted]

The party has been in a particularly difficult situation in recent months. It reminds one of an army that has suffered defeat. We know that in such a situation, combat capability weakens, morals decline, fighting appears senseless, and there is a tendency to desert. We are also faced with that. One example is the desertion of a party Sejm deputy. I was surprised by his unpleasantly odd reason for doing so, that people are changing and succumbing to a domestic perestroyka. Transferring to a stronger side at a difficult time really is a surprising case of abusing the concept of perestroyka.

Of course, there is no need to be surprised by such a way of thinking. However, I do not think PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] members are entitled to think they are no longer jointly responsible for the country just because the party's place in the country's sociopolitical system has changed.

One should realize that Poland's road to democracy and a better economy will not be lined with flowers. On the contrary, social tension and conflicts are in store for us. Not even the success of the reforms guarantees that justice will prevail in Poland and that internal and external dangers will disappear.

That is why a strong left-wing party may have a major role to play. More than anything else, it should fulfill a stabilizing role in the state. The presence of a strong left-wing party could prevent the negative effects of a profusion of political forces and also prevent the formation of any kind of monopoly by the left wing or right wing. A stable political system is an essential guarantee for the success of every undertaking aimed at modernizing the Polish economy, all the more so because ceremonious declarations about helping the Polish economy only become realistic when foreign investors are convinced it is safe to invest in Poland.

A strong left-wing party is also necessary in order to influence the course of the reforms in Poland. The reforms can be implemented in various ways. One can adopt a policy that will create a sharp division among society, into a small group of very wealthy people on the one hand, and a huge number of poor people on the other. Stefan Kisielewski illustrated the principles of this policy very well when he wrote: "If we really are to undertake this reform to the system, we will once again have to go through the very stage we abandoned earlier, the stage of egoistic and militant capitalism, the struggles between people, the lock-outs, the unemployment, everything that the developed West has already gone through and left behind. We will have to go through all of this because Poland cannot immediately become like Sweden or West Germany, a fact which not everyone realizes."

A party of the left must defend another reform concept, the one that guarantees that working people will not become second-class citizens and that the process of restructuring the economy will not become a pretext for establishing a new system of class privileges.

Obviously, a meaningful role in the life of the country can only be played by a party that is capable of winning society's confidence and support. The PZPR in its present form has a very low level of support. Therefore a new party of the left is essential.

There are many disputes about how to build such a party. Should the entire past be erased and everything started from scratch? That is a nihilistic idea. The history of every social movement contains positive and negative chapters. At a time of crisis, attention tends to concentrate on the negative ones. A certain amount of time has to elapse, and moods have to calm down, before the past can be assessed objectively. For example, in many European countries, there was a period in which the church and its past were subjected to intense criticism. This criticism was highly biased. Time and profound changes inside the church were needed before this negative trend could be reversed.

The new left-wing party that does not reject the past must be built according to principles completely different to the ones before. This time, it must be built according to democratic principles. It must relinquish any ambition to achieve a leading role in the state, and must become a parliamentary force, struggling for power according to the rules of parliamentary democracy. It is to be a party of democratic socialism.

There is a lot of evidence that most party members are in favor of that, so there is something to build on.

Central Congress Commission Concludes Work

AU0901132390 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Dec 89-1 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Anna Pawlowska report: "Much Fear, But More Hope"]

[Text] At its 28 December final meeting, the Central Congress Commission approved a draft programmatic declaration, draft statute, draft stances in various specific issues, and the outline of a resolution on dissolving one party and creating a new one, and carried out a preliminary analysis of the choice of congress delegates.

Opening the talks, Mieczyslaw Rakowski drew attention to a few current matters:

—Having deliberately opted for the pro-reformist stream, the active portion of the party has chosen delegates to the 11th Congress;

—The party apparatus and cells have performed a great organizational task, free of any sort of pressure and with a full respect for the democracy of the election process, for which they deserve thanks;

—The active portion of the party now constitutes a political formation that is varied internally, but nevertheless united by a common desire to establish a new party of the left;

—The party's unity has been preserved without erasing any differences, but further congress work must take place according to reformist principles;

—The Central Congress Commission has proved that calm and frank talks between representatives of various outlooks is possible and advantageous. This is an important fact for congress delegates, whose work should not involve a mutual affixing of labels;

—Congress delegates should decide how much time the congress should spend on accounting for the past, so that there is no impediment to the process of establishing a party identity;

—The international dimension, including our party's place in the European left wing, is assuming increasing importance in further work. Here Mieczyslaw Rakowski summarized his latest visits to Italy and Spain and his contacts with the communist and socialist parties in these countries.

Next, on behalf of the Central Congress Commission's programmatic team, Tadeusz Fiszbach recommended another version of the draft declaration, saying that the party debate on the subject of the declaration had been devoid of emotion, but had been given secondary priority because of organizational and economic problems. He also criticized some of the draft stances presented by Central Committee problems commissions.

On behalf of the Commission's organizational-statute team, Aleksander Kwasniewski reported on the conclusion of work on a provisional draft statute. He also suggested a significant reduction in the number of specific stances.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski said that in spite of earlier fears, the direct election of congress delegates had proved successful. There had been no deletion of "well-known names" from the ballot papers. Rational reformers had won support for themselves, the election turnout (excluding inside the army and outside Poland) was 57.4 percent of party members, and most congress delegates are between 30 and 45 years of age, said J. Szmajdzinski. Some 135 PZPR delegates had submitted written recommendations from their primary party organizations. Next, J. Szmajdzinski presented a draft resolution "on dissolving the PZPR and creating a new party of the Polish left," which suggests ways of recruiting members for the new party, contains a draft agenda for the 3-day session of the 11th PZPR Congress and the new party's founding congress, and calls for a party opinion poll in January on the subject of a new name for the party, whereby there would be five names to choose from.

It ought to be stressed that the entire work of the Central Congress Commission was solely intended to prepare for the congress and help its delegates, for it is they and only they who will decide on every programmatic and organizational issue, which they will not do until after the opening of the congress. The Commission's achievements will be discussed by the Central Committee at its 6 January plenum. The rest is in the hands of the delegates.

Several controversies emerged during the Commission's meeting, and problems emerged which were outside its scope. It also became clear that, because of the short time left before the congress, the tasks and duties of delegates prior to the congress must be made more specific.

The statements of many Commission members contained fears because the country's political circumstances are complicated and are becoming even more so, the party's unity has been preserved only with difficulty, and there is no way of knowing what degree of support the new party will have. Nevertheless, in the speeches of most members, hope prevailed over fear. "Non-democratic socialism presents the least possible chance for a party of the democratic left," observed one member. "One cannot lead a party beneath a catastrophic banner." Another member said that the success of practically all efforts depends on "a psychological readiness to make concessions at the congress, without arguing about who is the best reformer."

In conclusion, Aleksander Kwasniewski thanked all the Commission members for their hard work, adding that all the draft documents satisfy most of the requirements for brand-new solutions, but the congress itself will determine the party's unity and the minimization of losses, whereas the gaining of society's confidence in the new party has to be considered a long-term process.

Rakowski Issues Statement on New Party

AU1001152990 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Statement by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, for TRYBUNA LUDU: "Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: I Address These Proposals to the Entire Party"]

[Text] The year 1989 was a watershed for Poland. The year 1990 will be a watershed for the Left. In a couple of weeks' time we will meet in Warsaw for the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress and—I am convinced of this—the founding congress of a new party of the Polish Left.

I congratulate those comrades who have been elected congress delegates, and I express my gratitude to the Widzew organization for placing its confidence in me. I am conscious of the great responsibility that has been placed on our shoulders by all those party members who took part in the elections. Contrary to the pessimistic forecasts that were made, 1,132,221 PZPR members took part in the elections, that is, 57.7 percent of the entire membership.

The essence of this responsibility is that the decisions that we will make on ending PZPR activity and the transition to the creation of a new party of the Polish Left will have far-reaching consequences. They will affect all of Europe and not only Poland, and will, above all, impact on the left all over Europe. What we do at the congress and the founding congress will be closely followed both at home and abroad. The decisions that we make will be primarily viewed from one particular angle: Will we create solid foundations for a new, politically and organizationally strong party of the Left, a party that draws on the rich heritage of European and Polish socialist thought, or will we emerge from the two congresses in disagreement with one other and divided?

We hear it said in all quarters that Poland needs a strong party of the Left. That is the view of the more than 1,000,000 party members who voted for delegates. That is the view expressed by the most outstanding and far-sighted leaders of the "Solidarity" camp. This was also the tone of what I was told by many of the people I have spoken to abroad over the last few months, including B. Craxi, leader of the Italian Socialist Party, Premier F. Gonzales, leader of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party, and Ochetto, the leader of the Italian

Communist Party. M. S. Gorbachev is very much counting on the establishment of such a party, as are many of our friends in the countries of central Europe. We cannot disappoint these expectations. Through our actions before and during the congress, we should convince our progressively-minded countrymen that we are creating the new party for them, that it is not simply a party to succeed the PZPR, but a formation built on conclusions stemming from our experiences gained the last few years of this decade, as well as on an analysis of the new problems and tasks that Poland now faces.

In creating the new party, we should make use of the accomplishments—that go back many years—of reformers, whose presence in the ranks of the PZPR over these past decades cannot be denied. Reformist attitudes which, to be objective, expressed a vision of a state and party based on democratic socialism, existed in the PZPR since its inception. Although they seldom met with success for various reasons, they were nevertheless accepted by successive generations of party members.

The path leading to a party of democratic socialism will be long and arduous. It is not enough to adopt a new programmatic platform, to build a new organizational structure, or to replace the post of first secretary with that of chairman of the party and to replace the Central Committee with a Supreme Council. Something more is needed; a change in the sphere of consciousness, and that is, as a rule, the most difficult thing to achieve. We have to quickly eliminate what remains of viewing reality according to the norms that were current when the PZPR was the state party.

During the period leading up to the congress and during the congress itself we should seek answers to the question of what we should do in order to become credible in the eyes of society, and especially in the eyes of that part of it that considers itself to belong to the socially progressive camp. For many months now, a lively and painful debate on the past, on the causes of our defeats and mistakes, has been going on in our ranks. The congress will also speak out on this issue, although that will surely not be the final word in the current debate. The debate will be continued by historians for a long time to come. I think that we would miss our vocation, if we were to spend the congress and the founding congress writing an obituary of the PZPR. Our primary task and vocation is, above all, to give concrete form to the party's most immediate goals.

Today we cannot stop at sound, but general slogans. Our program of action for the next few months must be clear and concrete; one could even say pragmatic. We have to present the nation with a socialist alternative to the Stalinist model and to primitive 19th century capitalism. The new party has a chance to acquire a bridgehead in various communities, and especially among the workers class, if we come to the 11th congress and the founding congress with a clearly defined position on several fundamental problems that are of basic importance for working people in our country.

I think that these are the problems:

—attitudes toward public and private property. It is a question of the limits of the planned reprivatization of national assets, as well as of real opportunities for and ways of socializing large state-owned assets, which are the product of two generations of Polish engineers, workers, and technicians;

—setting a reasonable ceiling on the necessary sacrifices that have to be borne by citizens employed in the national economy and who are affected by government action directed toward bringing about the recovery of the Polish economy;

—ways of preventing the entire burden of the costs of reform being placed on the shoulders of employees in the economy's public sector;

—the market economy model that we are in favor of. Whether we are in favor of the liberal-economic system of Mrs Margaret Thatcher or one that is modified by way of strong and rational state intervention according to Western social democratic patterns, but also Japanese and FRG patterns;

—forms and methods of party activity at the local level. The formulation of a position on local self-government is a matter of exceptional importance and urgency. The acquisition of votes in the upcoming local self-government elections depends on this to a significant degree. The elections will be the first test of the influence and position of the new party;

—the new party's place on the national political scene. With whom and with what political tendencies and forces do we want to conclude alliances, and what are the permissible limits for concessions and compromises;

—We talk about an alliance of all left-wing forces. How can and how should such an alliance be realized in practice? On what does this depend?

—the party and the intelligentsia. Ways of getting through to artistic and academic circles;

—a definition of relations between the party and trade unions and between the party and local self-government bodies;

—Should party activity concentrate on the place of residence, the community to which one belongs, or the place of work?

—the name of the new party. The most frequently voiced proposal is that the founding congress should establish a Socialist Party of Poland.

—the criteria to be used in choosing the leaders of the new party. Should the criteria be competence, the ability to achieve a consensus, international standing, or should there also be some other ones?

—the criteria for determining socialist attitudes, but in concrete, not general terms. The new party should clearly set out who can be a member and what attitudes and views are acceptable within its framework;

—the place of the PZPR Deputies Club in the new party.

In my opinion, it would be an advantage for the new party if we were in a position to discuss all these issues in the period preceding the 11th PZPR Congress and the new party's founding congress and to come to the congress with views that would be as clearly defined as possible.

I address these proposals that I formulated above to the entire party, but especially to delegates.

It is time to be specific now. Just dealing with the past is not enough. It only makes sense in so far as it assists in shaping the future. This is because all our energy has to be focused on the near and more distant future. That is what will determine our place in the political life of the country. We still stand a chance of becoming an influential party in Poland, of entering the final decade of the 20th century, of becoming a party that is capable of participating creatively and effectively in a pluralist, democratic system, a party that the Polish nation needs.

We should use this chance!

Rakowski Meets Katowice Aktiv 4 Jan

AU1001205590 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Stanislaw Zielinski report: "Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski in Katowice"]

[Excerpts] On Thursday [4 January], Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, visited Katowice. He met a broad cross-section of the voivodship party aktiv, as well as the local organization's delegates to the 11th congress. [passage omitted]

A question was asked about the Central Committee first secretary's talks with Lech Walesa and Alfred Miodowicz. He was asked to comment on the article by Jerzy Urban that appeared in the 2 January TRYBUNA LUDU under the headline "Boys, Let's Get Rakowski."

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski began by answering the last question. He said: "I know that everything that is written by Urban is accompanied by the suspicion that I am behind it. However, believe me, it is very difficult to be behind Urban. He writes what he wants to, and not what the person he is writing about wants.

"So, what I would like to say at this point is that this posturing that Urban writes about and competing for posts does not interest or concern me. Until 27 January I am responsible for the party and for the party's problems, of which there is no shortage, including financial problems."

Referring to the draft documents submitted to Central Congress Commission, M. Rakowski agreed with the suggestion that assessments of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] should not contain any simplifications. It is a question that should be addressed by the historical commission that will be established by the congress, and the Programmatic Declaration should be geared toward what is ahead of us.

M. Rakowski added: "Perhaps we are spending too much time 'rummaging about' in the past, which is something that Gonzales pointed out during my visit to Spain. Lech Walesa expressed a similar view when I met him recently. He said that what happened in the past should be left to the historians. Politicians should orient themselves more toward the future, especially in view of what lies ahead of us."

Referring to a conversation with Miodowicz, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said: "There has been a positive change in relations between myself and him. The differences between us and the mutual accusations are a thing of the past. We both understand that the party must be rooted in the union, and that the union must have support in the party."

Discussing institutional matters, the Central Committee first secretary acknowledged that the era of real socialism had not passed the test of history. However, this does not mean that the idea of socialism has gone into an irreversible decline. Issues such as freedom, democracy, elections have to be viewed differently today. Today we are paying the price for failing to notice this sooner.

M. Rakowski said: "Right-wing forces are coming to power not only in Poland. It worries me that this situation is evoking demons from the past such as nationalism, chauvinism, and clericalism. It may destroy peace and a feeling of security all over Europe."

The Central Committee first secretary concluded: "In a situation in which the right is on the offensive, we have to come out of the congress as one party. That is still possible, because I do not detect there being too many fundamental differences in the various individual programmatic platforms. Factionalism or the creation of many parties is a road leading nowhere. A union of the various currents on the Polish left can only occur when reason triumphs over emotions."

Many of these problems were raised once again during a meeting with 157 delegates to the 11th PZPR Congress from Katowice Voivodship. The Central Committee first secretary was interested in delegates' proposals concerning the work of the congress. [passage omitted]

Both meetings were attended by Politburo members Manfred Gorywoda and Zdislaw Swiatek.

Deputies Club Criticizes Sejm Media Coverage

AU1001164590 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6-7 Jan 90 p 2

["Statement" issued by the Polish United Workers Party Deputies Club in Warsaw on 5 January]

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club is concerned about the inaccurate way—it bore the hallmarks of manipulation—and the extent to which television broadcast the Sejm plenary session on changes to the Constitution. The coverage failed to report the submission and voting on a significant number of amendments put forward by party deputies. The amendments concerned, among other things, the continued inclusion of basic state duties in the Constitution; duties such as the protection of health, society, motherhood, and the family, the development of culture, education, and science, and recognition that land is a form of inalienable wealth belonging to the state and people that should not be sold to foreigners.

We hope that beginning with the next meeting of the Sejm, television will transmit plenary sessions in a reliable way and without any omissions.

The PZPR Deputies Club states with particular regret that TRYBUNA LUDU also failed to inform its readers fully of the content of and intentions behind all the speeches made by PZPR deputies in defense of social and national interests at the last Sejm plenary session, as well as on the club's position and the role of party deputies during individual stages of the debate on the Constitution.

We call on the PZPR Central Committee to ensure that its press organ reports fully on the deputies' debate concerning amendments to the Constitution and that particular attention is accorded the speeches made by party deputies.

Warsaw, 5 January 1990

Central Committee's 'Wasted Chance' Viewed

AU1001204590 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 8 Jan 90 p 2

[Commentary by Krzysztof Pilawski and Dariusz Szymczycha: "In Our Opinion"]

[Text] We are saying goodbye to the present Central Committee without any regrets. Despite our sympathy and even respect for some of its members, we believe that the Central Committee as a whole has wasted the chance presented to it by the sociopolitical situation.

We cannot say that this Central Committee has "trailed far behind the changes," because that is not true. However, we know that many of its pro-reformist decisions were not taken voluntarily and in a sovereign manner, but were dictated by the drama of events and by the strong personality of a few politicians capable of imposing their will.

The Central Committee that was established at the 10th congress has employed delaying tactics, and has been too cautious about any change whatsoever. Those who disagree with this might tell us that the Central Committee did not oppose either trade union pluralism or the "roundtable" decisions. In a formal sense, that is true. But there were strong sentiments against these processes, and even feelings of vengeance, until the 17th plenum. The most surprising thing of all was that several times, the Central Committee did not consider the consequences of its own decisions.

So when we consider the new party, the personality of its leaders is as important as its program. The new party's policies should be determined by people who are mostly fresh, young, and capable of winning the confidence of the electorate.

Miller Speaks at 16th PZPR Plenum

AU1101215890 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jan 90 p 3

[Speech by Leszek Miller, Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 6 January]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

I wish to inform members of the Central Committee about the state of preparations for the 11th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Congress and the founding congress of the new party of the Left. This is because today's meeting closes a basic stage in preparations for the congress. The election of delegates to the congress is behind us. The Central Congress Commission has completed its work.

The course of congress preparations to date indicates that their is support for the idea of building a new party and its basic features are taking shape. A significant part of the PZPR's membership wants to participate in its creation and they are ready to focus their attention and the political commitment of their communities on the new party.

The idea of a new party does not stem from nostalgia for past significance or some need for its existence that is based on abstract ideas. It is a consequence of the assessment that the PZPR can no longer effectively meet the challenges of new times. Our goodwill or even our best intentions are of no significance in this respect. What is needed is a new party that responds to the hopes that working people attach to the realization of left-wing ideas. The new party must respond to the need to construct a broad front of the social left that is open to new ideas and new generations, and is able to stand up to the right-wing offensive.

The growth in the significance of right-wing forces is reflected in the dangers that exist regarding the satisfaction of the basic needs of those who toil and in mounting

concern about the future form of national and social existence. Very recent events only serve to confirm that there is a pressing need for the emergence of a new left-wing political formation.

A fundamental shift has occurred in Poland in recent weeks. Decisions made by the Sejm and the social and institutional effects of current government policy have prompted increasing concern. This issue will undoubtedly be addressed competently and comprehensively by the 11th congress and the founding congress. The stance on these issues must be a factor that will serve to unite the new party, to form its political identity, and to facilitate the construction of a broad coalition of people of the Left.

Esteemed comrades, the course of the pre-congress campaign to date has failed confirm the many fears and doubts that were being voiced a few months ago. Contrary to opinion, numerous party communities became active, and alongside the lively discussions initiated by by pre-congress platforms and by many echelons, talks were held in small party collectives, workplaces, and at social gatherings. The Academy of Social Sciences examined a representative group of party members in November and found that only 10 percent of PZPR members were not interested in preparations for the congress. According to the findings, almost a fifth of the party was actively involved in the pre-congress discussion.

We have averted the danger of splitting the party and of permanent divisions emerging within it before the congress. We will attend the congress as one party. There is a real hope that we will leave the congress in the same state. The unity of the party following the congress is the "to be or not to be" of Polish Left. The overwhelming majority of PZPR members who spoke during the debate link their political activity to a single party, to one party, although it is pluralist in terms of programs, open ideologically, and has a long way to go to recover public credibility.

The pre-congress discussion also failed to confirm the views of those who feared that the campaign would proceed in a manner that was out of step with social reality and that it would often run counter to it and hard facts. The talks on the future of the party were accompanied by reflection on the future of Poland and of working people.

The announcement of candidates and the election of delegates was of key importance for the current campaign. The principles that were formulated by the Central Congress Commission and were adopted at the 16th Central Committee Plenum ensured that the all PZPR full and candidate members had an influence on the election process. The views that the elections would be somehow fixed in advance were not borne out. The Central Congress Commission received one criticism that concerned the failure to inform primary party organizations adequately about the way in which candidates seeking to become delegates should submit themselves for election.

The fears of a low turnout proved to be unfounded. Almost 60 percent of those entitled to vote took part in the elections. Elections were held in 538 districts. A total of 4,060 candidates stood for the 1,474 mandates as delegates. This means that there were about three candidates for every mandate. In the Armed Forces there were four candidates for every place. A total of 1,132,000 PZPR full and candidate members who were entitled to vote took part in the elections. The overwhelming majority of them wanted to express support for the idea of creating a new party of the Left. However, for some of those who voted this was undoubtedly a way of saying farewell to party activity. We believe that one day we will meet each other in party ranks once again.

About 400,000 members of the party aktiv took part. The party apparatus played an important part in this work. We express our thanks for their work.

A total of 1,474 delegates were elected. In addition, in accordance with principles that were adopted at the 16th plenum, 163 members of the PZPR Deputies Club who obtained the backing of their primary party organizations are also delegates. So, we have 1,637 delegates altogether. They include 37 members of the Central Committee and 15 members of the Central Auditing and Control Commission.

It will be a congress for the younger generation of the party of the Left: More than three-quarters of the delegates are under 45 years of age, and the average age of voivodship delegates does not exceed 40. We should remember that the average age of the PZPR member is almost 47.

It will be a congress of people who are intellectually awake, who are seeking a new identity for the Left—more than 1,000 delegates are representatives of the various programmatic platforms that stimulated activity in the party before the congress. Several hundred delegates do not identify themselves with any platform, but support the resolutions of the Central Congress Commission and 16th Central Committee plenum like the rest.

In electing delegates, party members gave their support to those who presented their political views in a rational, considered manner and, above all, in a manner that was lucid and rooted in voters' reality.

In terms of its social composition and intellectual potential, it will be a representative congress for the future of our country. There is a chance that it will be a pragmatic congress that will be firmly rooted in current Polish reality.

We have several drafts to submit: resolutions on ending PZPR activity and creating a new party; an agenda for the 11th congress and the founding congress; and a

proposal to hold a poll on the name of the new party. Of course, their final form will be determined by the delegates.

The draft agenda for the 11th congress and the founding congress of the new party envisages that the two events will be separate. We propose closing the 11th PZPR Congress on the first day of the session by means of an appropriate resolution. The two following days would be devoted to the creation of the new party, and during them it would be desirable to adopt a programmatic declaration, a statute, stances, and elect ruling bodies. It would appear appropriate to separate the ending of PZPR activity from the establishment of a new party.

It is also our assumption, which we submit for discussion, that everything that can be agreed on before the congress should be settled over the next few days and weeks. So, the name of the new party is at least one of the questions that should be dealt with. We propose conducing a poll on this subject, and comrades have received have received an appropriate draft.

We also propose that the candidates put forward by Voivodship Delegate Teams to serve on particular commissions should begin their work before the congress. The aforementioned proposals are consonant with the principle that preparations for and the course of both congress should be directed by a coordinating team of deputies to be established on the initiative of delegates.

The draft resolution on ending PZPR activity and creating a new party is of a legal and organizational character. The substantive part of it should stem from political assessments of PZPR activity and be the subject of work by the commission for preparing a resolution ending PZPR activity and creating a new party.

Appropriate substantive preparations have to be made for both congresses. The best possible use has to be made of the time that remains. A great many matters still have to be thought over deeply. However, good preparations cannot mean that absolutely everything has been settled beforehand. The two congresses should be of a genuine, working character.

Comrades, we have said on many occasions that the two congresses are not an end in themselves. It is a question of building, or of starting to build, to be precise, a new socialist party that will continue what was best about the PZPR's traditions, a party that will be a qualitatively new political force that is capable of effectively representing the interests of working people under conditions of parliamentary democracy.

This is not a process that will suddenly commence from scratch. Changes have been taking place in the party for a long time now. We have noted this on many occasions. Recent months have seen the internal party poll on the 11th congress; the direct election of congress delegates; personnel and organizational changes in the party's structure; a partnerlike approach to the PZPR Deputies Club that emphasizes the independence of deputies; and support for a broad intellectual movement in the party and for platforms providing alternative programmatic concepts.

The two congresses—both the course and the results produced by the congresses—should arise out of the changes that have taken place in the party.

We are entering the decisive stage of preparations. The days that remain before this event should be used by the party for a broad debate that will set out the function, role, and place of the new party in the political, social, and economic system. We have to proceed from a "general" discussion to discussion on the concrete matters that will unite the party, that will create the prerequisites for a unifying process.

In creating a new party, we will have to solve, for example, questions relating to the location of its basic cells. The party of the Left must operate where there are working people. In this sense, it should definitely be present in plants and institutions. However, its presence can take various forms. That the party is present in plants does not always have to mean that it has offices, premises or that party posts are paid for out plant funds. However, we will have to define the form in which we want to be present in the workplace.

The same applies to work in the community. The future of our party is linked to our activity in communities and neighborhoods. The creation of the structures of the new party must take account of this requirement.

Another important problem is the question of party policy toward young people. The present forms and methods whereby the party is present in the youth political scene must undergo far-reaching changes. Various organizational solutions are possible in this field. The future party of the Left undoubtedly needs its own youth structure.

We suggest that this and other problems should constitute the cornerstone of the work of Voivodship Delegate Teams, and activity on the part of the entire party before and after the congress.

Comrades, I set out very briefly the course of the election campaign and the tasks that await us at the 11th congress and the congress of the new party.

However, it would be politically rash and lacking in responsibility to focus solely on the next 3 weeks. We already have to focus on problems that extend beyond the founding congress today.

The final result will be determined by how rapidly we institute the process of forming organizational structures, obtain party members, and make a mark on social reality.

The basic question that we must ask ourselves concerns the following issue: Who should carry out this work? Voivodship Delegate Teams would undoubtedly be the most competent. They could establish organizational

teams that would establish the structures of the new party at the township and voivodship levels.

However, it would not be a good thing if the formation of new party cells were to be confined to organizational activities and the popularization associated with disseminating the congress' programmatic thinking. It is necessary to link these activities to efforts on the part of every cell to define its position and tasks in the community.

A party organization or echelon that does not have its own, independent concept of activity will simply have no reason to exist. With the abandonment of the principle of democratic socialism, no one "from above" will be able to impose tasks or exact responsibility for their performance.

I think that the times that lie ahead of us will be conducive to the formation of party cells that are not only based around programmatic platforms, but primarily around concrete issues that are important for a given community. For example, workplace organizations will have to deal with the problems that plants face as a result of the radical economic reform. For regional organizations, such problems are the fundamental reorganization of regional self-government and the elections of members of regional self-government bodies that are envisaged for the near future. So, there is a possibility that the formation of the new party and the first few months of its activity will not center on abstract matters, but will be rooted in real political problems. This is because the contours of political divisions on matters of fundamental importance are becoming more apparent. This will make it all the more easier to establish an identity and then consolidate ranks and acquire sympathizers and social support.

The party's responsiveness to all that is progressive and close to the ideals that are contained in our programmatic documents should be its positive distinguishing feature in the system of political forces in our country, a system in which there is no lack of antidemocratic, conservative, and obscurantist tendencies today.

While operating in this way, we should not usurp for ourselves a dominant role in the system of left-wing forces. Experience teaches us that pluralism does not have to pose a threat. We can, and this is putting things honestly, by being—let us hope—the strongest organization play a positive role as an element that unites without seeking to have a monopoly or to be dominant. We should be an element that is ready to cooperate with everyone who primarily understands the Left as meaning support for the ideals of social progress and democracy.

Esteemed comrades, I am pleased to inform you that in all programmatic, organizational terms, we have fully implemented the resolution on the 11th PZPR Congress that was adopted at the 15th plenum on schedule. Currently, the main burden of further congress work is in the hands of the delegates. The challenges that we face are enormous. We look forward to the 11th congress and the founding congress with these hopes in mind. It will represent a further stage in the history of the Polish Left. It should bring closer the realization of the ideals that gave birth to our movement, those of social justice and democracy, prosperity for working people, and a wealthy and independent Poland.

PZPR 17th Plenum Adopts Resolution

AU1001192990 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jan 90 p 1

[Resolution adopted by the 17th Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 6 January]

[Text] 1. The Central Committee declares that the resolutions of the 15th and 16th plenums on convening and preparing for the 11th congress of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] are being fully implemented, in accordance with the adopted subject matter and schedule.

The Central Committee respects and appreciates the PZPR members and candidate members for their attitude and energetic involvement in the pre-congress campaign, especially the election campaign for congress delegates.

2. The Central Committee conveys to the delegates of the 11th PZPR Congress and of the Founding Congress of the new Polish left-wing party the drafts of the following documents, which the Central Congress Commission has prepared:

—The programmatic declaration;

—The provisional statute;

—Stances on socioeconomic, political, and international affairs;

—A resolution on the termination of the PZPR and creation of a new Polish left-wing party;

—The agenda of the 11th PZPR Congress and Founding Congress of the new Polish left-wing party.

3. The Central Committee approves and conveys to the 11th PZPR Congress delegates the following papers:

—A "Report on the Activity of the PZPR Central Committee, Politburo, Secretariat, and Commissions Between the 10th and 11th PZPR Congresses";

—A "Report on the Implementation of the Resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress."

The Central Committee conveys to the 11th Congress delegates a "Report by the PZPR Central Auditing and Control Commission on Activity Between the 10th and 11th Congresses."

4. The Central Committee hereby adopts the "Decision on Conducting Prior to the 11th PZPR Congress an Opinion Poll to Establish a Name for the New Polish Left-Wing Party."

5. The Central Committee approves the report on the work of the team, appointed by the 16th plenum, to work out conclusions stemming from the activity of the PZPR, and hereby ordains that this report be placed before the 11th Congress.

6. The Central Committee regards the work of the Central Congress Commission as finished, and thanks the members of the central and voivodship congress commissions for their creative contribution, full of concern for the party's unity and for the fate of the Polish left wing, to the preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress and Founding Congress of the new party.

7. Congress delegates are undertaking further preparatory work for the 11th Congress and Founding Congress in concert with PZPR members, candidate members, and committees. This work should be coordinated by the Coordinating Team of Delegates.

The PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw, 6 January 1990

Rakowski Closes 17th PZPR Plenum

AU1201173190 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jan 90 pp 1,3

["Excerpts" from closing speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Central Committee, at the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 6 January]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades!

I think that we can all be pleased that this final substantive plenum of the Central Committee elected at the 10th congress is proceeding in an atmosphere that does not call to mind the image of a party that has been beaten to the ground. I think that this free atmosphere in a sense confirms that we really can start to build a new party, confident that we will attain the goal that we have set ourselves over the last few months. We talked about it today. It is the goal that we will set ourselves at the 11th congress and the Founding Congress.

I will not express opinions on all the issues that were raised during today's discussion. However, I would like to begin by saying that it will take a great deal of effort and an enormous amount of energy to build this party. In my opinion and as I understand the situation, it will not be a post-PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] party, contrary to the various fears that have been expressed. It will actually be an entirely different party, with new organizational structures and a new program. I am, of course, familiar with the various kinds of misgivings that were expressed at numerous meetings to the effect that once the new party is organized and established, it will be taken over by the current party apparatus. That is a great mistake. The party apparatus is reducing itself and is also being reduced as a result of the party's financial condition. Quite a number of organizers will have to be found for the new party. Every political party has to have such people. I fear that is not going to be easy to find them. I personally have no fears about the new party being dominated by the party apparatus that is still operating today. Besides, let us not vilify the role of the party apparatus.

I agree with the comrade from Lublin, who said that we should not allow any PZPR member to get the impression that we are disregarding the party's members, because the party's activities will be terminated. This also applies to those who will not enter the new party. I think that the several hundred thousand members of the PZPR merit respect for their work. That is why I personally would avoid making any statements that offend the dignity of any person or of a member of our party. We should remember that every one of us has been personally affected in some way by the events of the past year. This is all the more reason why we should remember how sensitive people are and how complex their consciences are. We should not reach for labels. There has been enough of that in the past.

The question of our party's programmatic declaration should be viewed in this context. I think that the declaration should be solely oriented toward the future. That is my view as a delegate to the 11th congress and the founding congress.

The question of party unity is another issue. That I support unity at any price is a statement that is being constantly put in my mouth, although it is something that I have never said. I have explained this publicly on several occasions. I was only concerned about seeing us remain one party until we had elected the PZPR delegates. I wanted to see one congress take place, not several. I am pleased to be able to say that the fact that the party has not fallen apart is at least one small success, although some people were counting on it falling apart. The preservation of one party organism in the situation in which the PZPR found itself was an exceptionally important matter for me. Of course, there is no question of there being any possibility of returning to the unity that was binding over the last few decades. Only unity in diversity is possible, and we must find appropriate organizational forms for that diversity.

Against this background, I would like to add that through their activities over the last few months many comrades have given a significant boost to the political and intellectual life of the party. I am pleased about that, but at the same time I appeal to you to keep your feet firmly on the ground, on our Polish ground. We are in a very difficult situation financially. We can create wonderful plans, but we are constrained by reality.

The statements that I hear on the economic situation lead me to conclude that we should submit our own concept of economic policy. The programmatic declaration is one matter, but I get the impression that public opinion will basically not wait for it, because it wants to hear what we have to say about what bothers and concerns people. We would surely all agree that radical

reforms are necessary and indispensable for Poland, and that we should support them, but on the other hand....

There is growing criticism of the effects of Mr Balcerowicz's policies within the "Solidarity" camp. I would just quote one passage from a Radio Free Europe broadcast on the mood in the Lublin countryside: "Some peasant activists say with regret that, if elections were to be called now, 'Solidarity' would undoubtedly be defeated. One even hears it said that if this ruthless policy of tightening one's belt continues, one can expect a rapid revival of the PZPR, and the party might even return to power." Well, that was no doubt an exaggeration, but it is a fact that the mood is deteriorating.

So, we have to take account of this concern, although we are in a difficult situation, because on the one hand we are convinced of the need for radical economic reforms, but on the other hand we have to care about the interests of working people, and we should not agree to working people having to bear the brunt of the very acute effects of the economic policy that is now being implemented.

After all, what does a party of the Left mean? It is a party that primarily fights for a sensible form of social justice. These are the basic values of the European left. So we cannot view these matters with indifference, irrespective of what we hear about our putting spokes in people's wheels and our being a factor that is upsetting the implementation of Vice Premier Balcerowicz's economic policy.

Those who succeed us, or history, might accuse us of occupying ourselves with great issues, the reorganization of the party, but not taking account of what the working people were experiencing.

There are a few more observations that I would like to make concerning the future of the party. I will not elaborate on all my views, because I will have to do that at the congress, but I would like to remind you that the establishment of a new party of the Left is not only of Polish national significance, it is actually of European and world significance.

So, we have to place our efforts to create a new party against the background of the changes that are taking place in central Europe, the future of the left in this part of the continent, the growing strength of right-wing tendencies, and against the background of relations between East and West. In light of this, it has to be borne in mind that delegates will bear a great, and I would not hesitate to say, historic responsibility.

We have to build a modern party of the Left that will make its main goal the bringing together of all those who are on the Left. In my opinion, this will only become possible once the new party clearly sets out its ideological identity. The basic source of its identity will reside in drawing on the ideological origins of Polish socialism and in their propagation among the public.

Of course, universal human values should permeate our program, but the key thing is that we should draw on the sources of Polish socialist thought in order to restore everything that was essentially ignored in the history of our movement and what was deliberately forgotten. The dissemination within society of the rich traditions of Polish socialism will call for hard, arduous work.

Opinion Poll on Name for New Party

AU1201172390 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "An Opinion Poll on a Name For The New Party"]

[Text] In the party-wide opinion poll held in September 1989, over 72 percent of the respondents spoke out in favor of transforming the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] into a new party, with a new program, statute, and name. This idea was almost unanimously approved during the precongress debate. Various names for the new party are being put forward, reflecting the nature and content of the programmatic declaration and statutory model of the new party.

The Central Committee will hold an opinion poll concerning a name for the new party. It will be held within voivodship groups of congress delegates, within primary party organizations and other party milieus, and during meetings between congress delegates and party aktivs in the voting districts.

The Central Committee submits the following names for the future party of the Polish left wing:

a) The Socialist Party of Poland;

b) The Socialist Working People's Party;

c) The Social-Democratic Party of Poland;

d) The Polish Working People's Party;

e) The Polish Socialist Left-Wing Party;

f) The Polish Labor Party

g) Other, private suggestions.

The Central Committee asks party members and organizations to take an active part in the poll and to convey their suggestions to the 11 congress delegates and directly to the Central Committee.

Rakowski To Run for Leader of PZPR

LD1101235190 Warsaw PAP in English 2307 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Lodz, Jan 11—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC 1st Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met here today with delegates to the party's congress from the Piotrkow, Plock, Lodz, Sieradz, Skierniewice and Wroclaw voivodships.

"The PUWP ends its activity, as of this February. Among different forces and groupings which seek their place on the political scene of Poland there will also be a party of the Polish Left. The strategists of various political groupings are not interested in the new party's emerging after the congress as a strong and uniform force. If it does not happen so, then we will remain in the background of social life for long years," said Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski during the meeting.

The first secretary also pointed to the signficance of the congress to the socialist parties of the Left in many countries of the world and justified the need for building a strong party of the Left in Poland.

The delegates were also informed about the financial situation of the party. The PUWP lacks some 50 billion zloties for its activity this year, which forces it to keep only 10 per cent of its to-date full-time staff.

During the meeting Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski announced that he would run for leader of the Polish party of the Left.

PZPR Property Ownership Questioned

AU1701101890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Jan 90 p 2

[Jan Rogala commentary: "An Imagined Problem"]

[Text] Perhaps it is only the result of a lack of determination. As we get closer to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] congress, at which the party will cease to exist, there is mounting pressure for the recovery of everything that the party has held in its possession over the past decades.

The "White House" in Warsaw is being picketed. Students in Bialystok wanted the PZPR Voivodship Committee building to be handed over to the university. The occupation of the building lasted 2 days. The party sought to save its assets by leasing part of the building to the Polish Security Bank and to a company in which it holds stock. Nevertheless, the students won. Instead of moving into the building that it bought from the city authorities for no more than Z51 million, the committee has put it to use as a hotel. As joint owner, the local PZPR echelon in Lublin has opened a restaurant, a beer stand, and a shop. Litigation is under way in Koszalin concerning the Voivodship Committee building, which was always the property of the court. There are dozens of other examples.

What is the point at issue?

The point is that for many years the PZPR appropriated everything that it needed and everything that it could: office buildings and apartments; cooperatives and state enterprises, an example of which is the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers' Cooperative Publishing House and printing works. During its period of immunity, the party felt that it was a genuine property owner. However, as the documents show, the land register and title deeds, the PZPR never acquired ownership rights of the facilities from anyone. This is because it could not. It is enough to take a look at the land register to see proof of this. As an organization that never had the status of a legal person, the PZPR could not be and is not an owner of property in a legal sense.

So, what is the problem?

The problem lies in a lack of determination on the part of the state, a state that is headed by a "Solidarity" government. As almost all party property belongs to the treasury, the state should decided about the use of the facilities, which should be vacated by their present occupiers. They should be vacated, because the PZPR is being transformed from a large, powerful organizations with a several-thousand-strong administrative apparatus at its disposal into a small party. As is this case with small parties—a growing number of such parties are being formed—it should seek premises from the municipal authorities or lease premises using its own funds. This must be done for the sake of equality.

As all this is not obvious to the PZPR and as the PZPR treats state assets as its own, it is surely high time that the government put a stop to all of this. A lack of determination concerning this issue means that there will be nothing to talk about in few months time, everything will belong to companies. States assets will be sold, and it will become necessary to engage in lengthy litigation. There will have to be embarrassing court action instituted by the state treasury against a party that does not exist.

NZS Statement Attacks PZPR

LD1401224490 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 14—The National Coordinating Committee of the NZS Independent Students' Union met here on January 13 and 14.

The committee adopted two statements. The first one points to the aggravating living conditions of the students and appeals for taking measures aimed at their improvement. In its second statement, the committee launches a violent attack on the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] saying that "the 40-year-long inefficient rule of the Communist Party had led to a deep crisis" and that the PUWP, "trying to escape the responsibility for the past, wants to change itself to the so-called new party of the left."

The NZS demanded socialising the property of the party and distributing it among the ministries of education, science and culture. The committee called upon university organisations to stage pickets infront of the PUWP buildings on January 23 and to hold protest actions on January 26, 1990.

Rakowski Talks With Israeli Communists

*LD1601181490 Warsaw PAP in English
1637 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 16—First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party CC [Central Committee] Meiczyslaw Rakowski received here today member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC of the new Communist Party of Israel (RAKAH) David Khenin and CC secretary and head of the party's Foreign Department George Toubi. [Israeli names as received]

Rakowski briefed the Israeli side on transformations now going on in Poland and, in this context, on tasks and the role of leftist forces here. Much attention the meeting attached to values and ideals that have been shaped during the to-date preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress and for a founding congress of a new leftist party.

Rakowski voiced his party's support for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict on the basis of respecting the right of the Palestinian nation to self-determination, and the right to safe existence and development of Israel and all the states in that region.

The meeting assesed the current state of relations between the two parties and the scope of the inter-party cooperation. They voiced their will to expand such cooperation between the RAKAH and a new party of the Polish left.

The talks were attended by PUWP CC Secretary Wlodzimierz Natorf.

PZPR Politburo Discusses Upcoming Congress

*LD1601203490 Warsaw PAP in English
1950 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 16—The Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) [PZPR] CC [Central Committee] reviewed here today the hitherto preparations for the 11th congress of the party.

The meeting analysed the current situation, including organization and the material condition of the party press.

In connection with cases of destroying party's property and occupying its premises, the meeting resolved to address the government with a motion that the constitutional rule of a lawful state be really observed.

No Foreign Guests at 11th PZPR Congress

*LD1701021590 Warsaw PAP in English
2358 GMT 16 Jan 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 16—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party/PZPR] floor group continued today its political discussion connected to the 11th Congress of the PUWP. Deputy Stanislaw Gabrielski expressed one of two stands presented during the discussion which supported the idea of a unified, social democratic character of the future party of the left.

The second stand, presented by Deputy Andrzej Bratkowski, acknowledged that keeping up the idea of one front leads towards the repetition of bad history which started with the moment of the fusion of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party.

Discussing the future of the deputies' floor group, speakers in general were in favour of its functioning as a union of deputies of the left, regardless whether present PUWP deputies will join the future one or several parties of the left.

During the meeting, the deputies learned that a decision was adopted to refrain from inviting foreign delegation to the congress.

Former Senior Officials To Go on Trial

AU1701112390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] The Office of Romania's Prosecutor General announces that, in the first public trial to take place in Bucharest, Manea Manescu, Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu, and Ion Dinca will appear in court to be tried.

Daily Calls for Dumitru Mazilu's Resignation

AU1601175790

[Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 13 January, pages 1 and 5, carries a 500-word unsigned article entitled: "ROMANIA LIBERA Asks for the Immediate Removal of Mr Dumitru Mazilu From the Leadership of the National Salvation Front [NSF]." Referring to the 12 January rally in Bucharest's Victory Square, the article accuses NSF Council Vice President Dumitru Mazilu of having "refused to answer the crowds' questions" about his past and of having done his best to "prevent any possibility of dialogue between demonstrators and the NSF leadership," obviously using "manipulation" in order to "take over power."

The article supplies biographical data about Mazilu: "Director of the Ministry of Interior School of Baneasa, Securitate colonel. Tried for manslaughter (killed a person while driving his car); case hushed up. Main adviser at the State Securitate Department, where he makes recommendations in connection with important decisions on intelligence and counterintelligence operations and on the fate of certain trials. Doctorate thesis at Cluj—first rejected for plagiarism. Appointed head of the most important chair, the law chair, at the Stefan Gheorghiu Party Academy. Signs many articles and works written by others, as you will see. Is removed from Stefan Gheorghiu Academy for repeated plagiarism. Is moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as deputy director. Presents the "positions and considerations of the comrade" at the United Nations. Broadcasts on Bucharest Radio exalted articles about the dictator's international prestige. When he is no longer given a visa for travel abroad (where he had hard currency deposits), he turns into a dissident. He presents a human rights study at the United Nations—a document worked out by a group of experts—as his own work."

ROMANIA LIBERA also prints several letters, totaling some 800 words, by participants in the Victory Square rally attesting to the fact that Mazilu was "inciting the crowd to display uncivilized behavior" in an attempt to "shut down Ion Iliescu" and "create dissension within the NSF." Another letter accuses Mazilu of being a "former Securitate man, and not an ordinary one, but a prominent figure," as "former head of the Baneasa Securitate School."

The material in connection with this case ends with the following request printed in boldface: "ROMANIA LIBERA DEMANDS AN IMMEDIATE INVESTIGATION OF MR DUMITRU MAZILU."

Bucharest Radio Reports Victory Square Rally

AU1301002890

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1650 GMT on 12 January announces a hookup with the Free Romanian Television Station, where the rally from Victory Suare is relayed.

The announcer says that "hundreds of people who gathered here continue to wait for the arrival of another prominent member of the National Salvation Front (NSF), and listening to the speaker at the rostrum, we understand that it could be the NSF Council President Ion Iliescu himself." The announcer says that the television team is proud of being able to be here to relay the rally for everybody to see it, because people were also there when the television needed them in the first days of the revolution.

While waiting for the rally to continue, the hookup is broken for 6 minutes. At 1659 GMT the announcer says "on the improvised stage we can see Ion Iliescu and other NSF members." The crowd is heard cheering, and during his speech, Iliescu is interrupted frequently by the shouting masses. Then Iliescu is heard saying:

"Esteemed fellow citizens. I come from a meeting with the members of the leadership of the National Peasant Party. We have begun political dialogues with all parties." The crowd is cheering, then Iliescu continues: "Let me speak! Fellow citizens, if you want to listen to me you have to keep silent. As we have set for ourselves, on behalf of the Front, our sole political task is to ensure the organization of free elections, and this is what we will be doing! We will ensure all the necessary conditions for the free elections as Mr Mazilu has already told you! (cheers) You will see that in the next days we will issue the draft electoral law, which has been worked out by a commission of jurists and experts. Everybody will be able to have a say in the way in which elections will have to be carried out on the basis of this electoral law (words indistinct).

The second issue is, please listen to me, (shouting is heard) all those who are guilty of crimes will be tried and sentenced in accordance with the law, in public trials. (cheers) The Office of the Prosecutor General will inform you on this issue. All those who are guilty are being investigated." Iliescu is shouting very loudly while the crowd is shouting, too, so his words are indistinct; he says something about public trials; a person is heard asking "on television?" and he answers "yes, on television." After long cheers, Iliescu continues: "You will get complete information on everything, and the complete truth!" Iliescu tries to resume his speech but the crowd is shouting for minutes on end. Then he says: "There is no more censorship, television is broadcasting on the basis of programs. The Communist Party has virtually been dissolved. Its entire heritage will go to the state!"

An unidentified person is heard shouting "Good people, I represent the Workers' Anti-Communist Alliance of Romania. My name is Augustin Bora and I am a painter. Thus, please remember that there is an anti-communist alliance in Romania which is fighting against all totalitarian, communist and fascist, parties. I have asked three times for a televised dialogue with the NSF leadership. If Mr Iliescu admits here, before you, before thousands of people, that there is no more communism and he accepts the dialogue with our anti-communist alliance, then we are ready to believe in his good faith."

Iliescu's first words are indistinct, then he says "dialogue with everybody. We want to create conditions for the development of a true democracy in Romania." He is again interrupted by people shouting, then he says something about not wanting "to assume power in this state. We are a temporary force, which wants to ensure free elections." An unidentified speaker shouts: "The people, the people want Mr Mazilu to be at the helm of the leadership of this temporary government!" The crowd is heard shouting "Mazilu." Then the same speaker shouts: "Down with communism! Freedom!"; a chant that is taken up by the crowd, for minutes on end. Then Iliescu's voice is heard again:

"Esteemed fellow citizens, if we want to defend our freedom and democracy, toward which we aspire, we must be absolutely united! All your complaints"—his voice falters, words indistinct, then he is heard again—"we have acted intependently and we will remain an independent country. Everything that we have promised in the NSF program, we will religiously observe. We want to fully assure you that"—again he is interrupted by shouting; he never finishes the sentence. The unidentified speaker calls for silence and says: "I am going to read your questions, the questions of the people.

Question: "Why did Mr Minister Stefan Nicole impose exports in (indistinct); there is no export of foodstuffs whatsoever at the moment. It is not true. On the contrary, we are importing foodstuffs." Another voice, probably Iliescu's, is heard answering: "Let me tell you in connection with this issue, I can tell you with complete authority and responsibility. Please. Let me tell you. I can answer with full authority on this issues. We have done everything to receive as much aid as possible and to supply everything that is foodstuff." Then the unidentified speaker says: "Good people, in connection with the criminals who killed our young people, hear that this moment, on this stage...silence, silence...in connection with the criminals who killed our children it was decided that if we decide that they are criminals against humanity they will be sentenced to death!" (cheers) He continues: "Two. It was promised that the dialogue of the Workers' Anti-Communist Alliance will be held with the leadership of the temporary government, with Mr Mazilu, and certainly with the prime minister. So in our dialogue with them we will introduce all your questions and we will held the discussion in front of television cameras." Now people are heard shouting and a speaker who identifies himself (name indistinct) as a journalist begs people to keep silent; he is, however, ignored by the people, who continue shouting. Somebody says: "Good people, we are on a live show on television, please, silence" but people just keep on shouting. There is terrible noise, interrupted by various voices demanding silence from time to time. Somebody, probably Iliescu, repeats several times "gentlemen, gentlemen, please listen to me" but he cannot continue. After several minutes somebody speaks about the journalists of the publication the "Free Worker," who demand that a free trade union be set up. The meaning of what he wants to say is not clear because of the noise. The same painter who spoke before again shouts something about dialogue with the NSF leadership, but somebody else takes the microphone from him. Chanting is heard again, but words are indistinct. Then the same voice asks questions in an emotional voice, but trying to overshout the crowd: "Mr Iliescu, do you still consider yourself a member of the Communist Party?" Iliescu answers: "I am the representative of the Front and I do not represent any other party. Currently there is no Communist Party for anybody." Another question is heard: "Do you belive that the Front is the representative of all democratic forces?" Iliescu: "It is the broadest platform that wants to unite all political forces in this country." Question: "Do you agree that if it is the representative of all forces then members of all parties should be represented in it?" Iliescu: "Certainly, we have started the political dialogue with the political parties. We held talks with representatives of the National Peasant Party." Question: "It is important that I ask whether you agree that in the moment of its formation each party should have at least three members in the Front? " Answer: "We do not have anything against it." Question: "Mr Iliescu, you are also asked why you have abrogated the death penalty." Answer: "It belonged to the international legislation." Question: "Do you believe that Ceausescu was in accordance with the international legislation?" Iliescu: "Weren't the Ceausescus sentenced to death?" Question: "There are still very many criminals who are free, who are even in the leadership of ministries. Do you know who is minister of telecommunications?" No answer is heard, only the crowd shouting, then in a few minutes somebody requests attention, saying: "Mr Mazilu wants to speak, your representative, whom you elected here, now."

Mazilu's voice is heard "fellow citizens" but he is interrupted by people shouting "Down with communism"; "Death for death"; and "The United Nations" for minutes on end. Then the same unidentified speaker says: "Somebody says that we should ask Mr Iliescu why the creation of the Liberal Party is being hampered." Great noise, then Iliecu's voice answering: "Nobody is hampering anybody else. We have issued a law regarding parties (words indistinct)." Then somebody says "please let me read you something" but he is ignored by the people, then he is heard saying "we propose to organize a national referendum to decide whether to abolish the death penalty." The speaker's voice cannot be heard any longer because of the noise and poor reception, then his

voice is heard again: "Let us discuss your demands. You chose 20 people, the best among you." A woman's voice is heard asking for silence. She introduces herself as a worker; she is screaming "silence good people, we must understand each other, the Army is defending us but keep silent." Then she shouts: "We ask Mr Iliescu to be so kind as to answer our question." Her voice cannot be understood she asks something about Iliescu's activity in the past 5 years.

Iliescu says: "I have worked at the Technical Publishing House. For the past 5 years I have worked there. I worked at the National Council of Waters for 5 years, I worked in Iasi, in Timisoara, if you want to know my past. I am the son of a railroad worker who used to work in the underground movement of the Communist Party. He was imprisoned and was in a work camp. Let me tell you. In the Tirgu Jiu camp he had a conflict with Gheorgiu Dej (Ceausescu's predecesor) and was excluded from the party and died in 1945 at the age of 44. I, in turn, as everybody knows, was in conflict with Ceausescu, and as of 1971 I was removed from the party leadership. I was sent to Timisoara and Iasi, and as the last part of my activity, I worked at the Technical Publishing House. This is my road. What else do you want?"

The crowd is heard shouting, but words are indistinct. Then Iliescu's voice is heard again: "All the members of the Political Committee and the politically responsible persons have been arrested and are being investigated." There is more shouting, then an unidentified voice shouts: "Fellow citizens, I propose one minute of silence for our dead. Down to your knees!" Some commotion is heard around the microphone, a woman shouts "for the children who died in Timisoara, for the children who died in Bucharest, for all the young people and students, a minute of silence!" but shouting continues and "Death to Securitate, Death to Them" is heard, "Death to Them, Referendum!"

Next a man's voice is heard. He says that he comes from Cluj and says that the television broadcasts are live, everybody can see them. "I am among the first who entered the Security headquarters in Cluj, and I am not ashamed to say, many of them surrended. In Cluj an investigation was carried out and those who fired are imprisoned and sentenced. And I think this is happening everywhere." The crowd is shouting, a woman's voice is heard screaming: "We have here a squashed soldier, you have squashed a man! The Army is with us!" Somebody else shouts: "It is not only with us, it is actually our Army!" "Stop, stop, people will die here." This last call is heard repeated several times, then only noise is heard and then Iliescu's voice: "Brothers, in this way we will never understand each other. Let me call on our wisdom and reason. Our people have always been a wise people throughout the centuries. If we do not succeed, after we eliminated a dictatorship, a totalitarian regime, which kept the country in darkness for decades on end, if we are not able to reestablish order in society and bring progress to the national economy, we will enter economic chaos and..." He is interrupted by chants. Then he says "you are right!" then continues: "If we want to eliminate once and for all the totalitarian regime, we must demonstrate that we can live in democratic conditions. If not...." Again he is interrupted, then he continues: "If not, from chaos only dictatorship is born."

A woman is heard shouting: "We want a referendum on the death penalty...." The rest of her words cannot be heard because of chants of "Death for death"; "Down with communists"; "Down with the Ceausescus from management of units"; and "Freedom." The same voice shouts something about an enterprise's performance and says: "If we do not fulfill our duty then we will need foreign aid. The leadership of enterprises have to be changed starting with the directors." An unidentified voice is heard shouting: "Silence, you invited me here, then let me speak. We gathered here to ask for our rights. We do not want talks on economic issues. We want to demand our rights. I only want to ask you, if we can understand each other. Silence! We each want to ask a question, but silence, silence, at this dialogue with Mr Iliescu and Mr Mazilu." He is interrupted by crowd noises and shouting.

A voice is heard: "Fellow citizens, you formulate your demands, what you want, and we will answer you directly, now, here, in front of you all." Another voice: "Brothers, please keep a little silent. We were invited to participate in the roundtable talks with the leadership of the Front. You have to voice all your complaints. We have to elect a number of people who represent our interests. I am one of those people." The crowd is heard shouting, noise.

Then a woman is shouting: "Mr Mazilu, we want to ask you something! Come out, Mr Mazilu. We want to ask you to tell us who you were before you entered the front of democracy. Who were you and what function have you held?" She is shouting something about "a Securitate officer." A man's voice is heard shouting "where were you sitting in the Grand National Assembly?" but the rest of what he says is indistinct. Then another voice: "We are informed that the minsiter of telecommunications is Securitate, down with him!" "Good people, we were promised at this solemn moment that all our demands would be met. We inform them that if our demands will not be met, we will gather again and then we will deal with them" (va fi vai si amar de capul lor). He speaks very quickly, shouting very loudly: "A new revolution, a new revolution, and a new revolution, and Mr Iliescu, and Mr Mazilu and all will tremble!"

Another voice is complaining about some elections which were held behind closed doors, while another says "nothing has changed, the system is the same." The rest is indistinct because of crowd noise. The crowd seems very much out of control; no speaker can stop them from shouting.

A voice is heard shouting "I am a worker just like you, I want you to listen to me" but the crowd chanting drowns out his voice. The shouting continues.

The hookup ends at 1757 GMT and the voice of the journalist comes on, saying: "You have all been witnesses to a big mass rally for the first time after winning our freedom. I think we will all agree that we have all regretfully noted that we still do not know what to do with this freedom, won with the blood of all those who were killed only a few weeks ago. Today on their day we would have wished to commemorate them in a different way. But these things are also good because they prove to us we have still a lot to learn. We need an education which after 45 years some lost and others never had, a political education, to know what a political party means (words indistinct), to know what it means to state our views, to know what it is means to be listened to and to make ourselves heard. We think that our images presented faithfully what happened in the Victory Square and, at the same time, we believe that you have drawn lessons from them. We continue to wait for your suggestions, views also, in connection with the organizing of rallies."

TV, Radio Interview NSF Leaders

AU1301222390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Esteemed TV viewers, today we received at the TV and Radio stations numerous questions and requests to clarify certain issues connected with the situation in the country, the activities of the National Salvation Front [NSF], certain issues raised at yesterday's rally in Victory Square. The Front leadership, the Council of the NSF, has asked for a TV and Radio open dialogue with the country in order to clarify a number of these issues. I would like to ask Mr. Ion Iliescu, the president of the NSF Council—who took part in yesterday's rally and answered some of the issues raised there, and who is familiar with the stress felt today—to answer some of these questions.

[Begin recording] [Iliescu] Dear viewers, yesterday was a national day of mourning and, as you know, the Front leadership participated alongside the hundreds of thousands of citizens in the capital in activities held in memory of those who sacrificed their lives for the cause of the revolution, to overthrow the dictatorship. On the background of activities of this day, [passage indistinct]. Out of respect for the people of good faith [words indistinct], the representatives of the Front [words indistinct]. We must say we had a useful and constructive dialogue with a number of representatives of those present in the square, a dialogue held in a hall (?nearby), and for several hours a debate took place which we consider very useful both for us and [words indistinct]. Unfortunately, instead of a dialogue, a noisy and disorderly demonstration took place in the square, a fact which led us to adopt some hasty decisions which cast an unfavorable light, I would say, even on our national dignity, and which in any case are contrary to the democratic spirit proclaimed by the NSF, a spirit which the entire country wants to see promoted in our political life. Rightly so, members of the NSF Council— and as I could see from the numerous messages, telephone calls, and letters we received—a large segment of the public opinion criticized us for the weakness shown and the way we yielded to the pressure of the people in the square. We must admit that even the representatives of the National Peasants Party, with whom we were having a dialogue, delicately expressed certain reservations and perhaps even criticism for yielding to pressures of the moment. From the numerous messages we received, we retain the messages of solidarity, support, and backing, and we want to thank everybody for the credit and trust extended to us and we wish to assure everybody that we shall try to measure up to the trust accorded us.

In connection with two of the decrees-laws we adopted last night, we have decided to submit both of them, both the one regarding the death penalty and that regarding the outlawing of the Communist Party, to a vote by the people on the occasion of the 28th January Referendum. In connection with certain suspicions expressed regarding the position of the NSF towards the Communist Party, I want to say that, as from the very start, we have taken a clear cut position on this issue and we considered that, practically speaking, the Communist Party has dissolved itself or it has been taken out of the country's political life at the same time with the overthrowing of the dictatorship. We declared firmly and categorically in the NSF platform, our position against any attempt or any position of a leading role for any political party in the life of our country. Moreover, I would like to mention that, publicly as well, we have expressed the NSF position regarding the Communist Party in which we said that—taking into account the fact that the Communist Party was confiscated by the dictatorship and became the instrument of political demagogy and of lies used as methods of governing by the dictatorship against the people—the NSF Council together with the people of good faith of the whole country declare that this party positions itself against the national spirit and outside traditions of old.

Esteemed citizens, we find ourselves in a dramatic turning point of our national existence. Following the overthrow of the dictatorship, we inherited a particularly difficult situation in the economic, social, political and spiritual life of the country. The big difficulties faced in the economy and to which the prime minister will refer more directly are amplified by the additional difficulties generated by this harsh winter. We also understand everybody's impatience and desire to solve, as soon as possible, the vital issues of supplying the population with food, energy, heat, the problems of housing, working environment, jobs and so on, but you must understand us, it is very difficult to accomplish anything in such a short time, taking into account the heavy inheritance from which we have started. Many of the difficult problems our economy is struggling with will need time,

effort, and the whole country's united intelligence. We shall solve them all in time. We understand and share both the impatience and the wish to progress more quickly, but we must all realize that we cannot solve everything in a very short term. We need patience, wisdom, and to unite all forces around this cause.

We must tell you that in connection with the difficulties which have arisen—amplified also by certain phenomena of the political life and the pressures put on the Front—some of us NSF Council members, have asked ourselves the logical question that whether given the present circumstances we can assume the responsibility of leading the country. We have realized, however, that to consider withdrawing at this moment from the responsibility we have assumed would pave the way for chaos and anarchy, hence for a new form of dictatorship which would be a disaster for the country. It must be clear to everyone that to leave the road open to chaos in the economic a d political life, to anarchy in our country means to open the road to a new form of dictatorship. There is no alternative to chaos and anarchy other than dictatorship. We must, therefore, act with all our strength, in full awareness and united in order to put an end to such a disastrous road for our country.

In order to perform our responsibilities, we need the massive and active support of all the people, of all honest and responsible people, first of all of the working people, of the workers in industry, of the peasants, youth, intellectuals, of all country's citizens without whom we shall not be able to acquit ourselves of the mission entrusted to us. I would also like to say that the difficulties and instability of political life, the organizational fluidity of the NSF bodies and territorial councils in counties and localities add to the difficulties of an economic nature. Lately, there have been tendencies to contest and repeat elections for the Front bodies, some motivated by the weakness of those who are at the head of these bodies, of the lack of organizational capability of those elected. Sometimes, however, it is the case of things which are artificially fed by age-old bad habits in our country's political life, the struggle for power, the tendency of some to climb the power ladder. All this prevents us from stabilizing the our activity.

This is a real obstacle to the efficiency of the NSF's local bodies. The instability in the organizational activity of NSF councils is being reflected in the activity of local administrative bodies, which must resolve the vital problems of the citizens' life, such as communal administration, urban transportation, water supplies, trade, services, and so forth. There are manifestations of instability in the activity of many enterprises, where a number of negative phenomena have appeared.

In this connection, I would like to clarify a few points. We talked about separating state powers, namely the legislative power, executive-administrative power, and the judicial power. Concerning the bodies representing the political power in our state, they operate at the state level and at the national level and are represented by the NSF Council, which fulfills the functions of a national assembly, which in the past was the State Council, while the government exercises the executive functions of the state administration. At the local level, this is reflected in the relationship between the NSF councils and the local administration, namely the city halls at county and locality level.

The problem was raised about the role and functions of NSF organs in enterprises. Today, in an afternoon program, the representative of the National Democratic Party directed an arrow at us, referring to a so-called gaffe committed by the NSF, and cited from guidelines allegedly sent by the NSF to enterprises to organize NSF councils in enterprises. First of all, the text mentioned by the speaker was not the text issued by our Front, but a draft text received by the NSF from the lower organs. This text was not our initiative, not the initiative of the National Council; it was an initiative taken at the local level in some enterprises, by organs set up in those enterprises. The people felt the need for a form of organization and representation of the working people's interests at the level of enterprises. We did not believe this to be a bad thing and we decided to meet it halfway. It is true that the formulation of this draft text on the functions and duties of the councils contained such trends as imparting a political nature on the local Front organizations. In any event, the guidelines were published. On 12 January the press carried the text of the guidelines worked out by the NSF National Council. These guidelines clearly defined the functions of these organizations set up in enterprises, which are different from the functions of NSF organizations at the territorial level. These NSF councils in enterprises are not and cannot be political bodies. We actually criticized the tendency of taking over the role of the former party organizations in enterprises.

[Moderator] We also mentioned that on the television, we are sorry we did not yet manage to organize a discussion on this subject...

[Iliescu, interrupting] Therefore, the main idea we maintain is that these councils are the working people's representative bodies, fulfilling, to a certain extent, the role of trade unionist bodies, representing the interests of the working people in a given enterprise. They are operating in direct contact with the working people in enterprises and also represent the working people in the relations with the administrative management. We are in favor of an active role of these councils in the dialogue and cooperation with the enterprise management; we are thinking in terms of a collective formula whereby they can actively participate, along with the enterprise management, in adopting and working out decisions on major problems of the respective enterprises, which are of direct concern for the working people's life and activity, and in electing, appointing, and replacing the enterprise management [several unintelligible voices speaking together intervene; Iliescu continues] ...the prime minister will give you some concrete examples of this scenario.

Consequently, one should not talk about an NSF intention of introducing, instilling, and exerting political influence in the enterprises, but rather to concretely satisfy a topical requirement. We are thinking of a time when the Front will disappear as a form of exerting the political power in the country; these organizations can become trade unionist organizations in enterprises, based on democratic principles, thus representing the working people's interests at the level of enterprises.

In this respect, I would like to point out the need to end this phase of organizational fluidity, to stabilize ourselves, and elect the NSF bodies at the town and county level, on democratic bases, and to create conditions for their passage to active work. The citizens and well-meaning people in counties and localities should combat the efforts of those who want to maintain this climate of perpetual instability. We should create conditions for the Front bodies at county and locality level to proceed to concrete and efficient activity.

In conclusion, I would like to make another remark in connection with various suspicions that the Front would like to grab political power and establish itself for good [word indistinct]. I want to assure everybody that we have no such intentions, either as a political body or as individuals. Our main concern during this period was not of an electoral nature. This was not our main concern, not at the time when we appeared on the scene, nor at this time, when are just structuring and organizing ourselves. In this respect, we are sometimes even weaker from an organizational viewpoint than some parties which are beginning to constitute themselves, since they are freed of the burden of concrete political and economic responsibilities for the society. Therefore, we do not have time for politics, and actually we do not intend to become involved in politics.

We assumed a responsibility for a given period of time, we want to fulfill this mandate as well as possible, to ensure stability in the country and stability in the socio-economic life. We want to create conditions for building our future structures on the basis of general elections, as we promised—that is, free and perfectly democratic elections. Professor Mazilu will talk about certain issues concerning the principles we are going to apply in preparing all legislative acts in this connection.

Finally, in view of certain press interpretations and echoes, I want to conclude by assuring you that there is full unity in the NSF leadership. I want to assure everybody that there is a team spirit of work and cooperation. Our only worry and concern is that, given our available means, we may not cope with the huge pile of problems facing us. We also do not have enough time to properly work out all these problems. We do not have time to solve them as we would like it. Other than that, there is a spirit of close cohesion, cooperation, and mutual trust, and there is no suspicion about us and our cooperation.

[Prime Minister Petre Roman, interrupting] It is a true democratic team spirit, because this morning we were properly criticized by other members of the Council and Executive Bureau in connection with our giving in...

[Iliescu, interrupting] ...yesterday.

[Moderator] I just wanted to ask you to speak about this last point which you brought up. This morning, various questions arose in connection with the issue of the unity of the leadership within the Front's Council. Probably this is another thing we inherited from the epoch of sad memory, when the political power was grabbed by people who behaved in a totally conventional manner, without any views or personal style during public manifestations. Because many of the current participants in the leadership activities of the Council behave in accordance with their own political education and in accordance with the political temperament, and because they formulate these aspects with the vehemence and with the moral power that each of them possesses, a number of questions have been asked both by the foreign press and by various Romanian citizens, questions regarding the common loyalty of the personalities in the leadership to the cause of the Front, the political goals of the Front, and even whether there are real possibilities for political adjustment of these personalities within the leadership. Could you please tell us a few things about these issues?

[Iliescu] Of course, we are an assembly of people with different characteristics, with different political views and with very different training and formation—that is, we are far from a party formation, as we are accused of. I mean that the entire composition of the NSF Council is very varied. It includes people with very different orientations. But at the same time, this is the advantage of this structure of the Front, because this reflects, in a way, Romanian society. We believe that on this basis, we can cooperate in order to consolidate such a platform of national unity around objectives that are not party objectives but national objectives. As far as we are concerned—and we have all been criticized, all of us who are present here, including Professor Mazilu who was also criticized—I want to say that this criticism should not be directed just to him but to us as well. We sent him to take the floor believing that he has influence on some of those present, whom he knew personally, and I believed that he would have an influence on them. He is a sensitive man and somehow more liable to criticism, and let himself be overwhelmed by some of the criticisms leveled at him both by the members of our council and, as I have heard, also by those who came from other parts of the country. He was very correct and exercised self-criticism, as you could see for yourself, and we believe that on the basis of such collegial examination and on the basis of friendship, it is good to be exposed to their criticism—that is, the control of society over us is the guarantee that we all will embark on a correct path. We are all people, we are not above the possibility of being mistaken, and the collective criticism, the criticism of society helps us to mend our ways.

[?Mazilu] Lately, something has changed in our society and we have fought for the implementation of this transformation—that is, to achieve the sovereignty of the people. This time, each of us has a chance to voice his opinion. We no longer work with that enthusiastic unity, in that total adherence to the same idea, to the same person. There have been various ideas. However, I must frankly say that I was indeed asked to talk with young people and to choose a side yesterday. However, I do not believe that I personally acted correctly, and I do not believe that anybody else should act incorrectly either; to give in to some pressure, in order to give momentary satisfaction in response to pressure to some ideas which are not our own ideas in principle. This might harm our cause and our unity. We have discussed this issue very seriously and I am convinced that we have reached the most constructive conclusions. At the same time, I was personally criticized by the press and I want to tell you that I wholeheartedly wanted this tyranny eliminated and I have not said this just today, but long ago, when we assumed all risks, including the risk of disappearing. The fact that we have succeeded in seeing this ideal fulfilled is not only my joy, but the joy of our people and, as a matter of fact, it is a great satisfaction to the entire country.

I believe that the unity of the Front is essential and I must say most frankly that my cooperation with President Iliescu, with the prime minister, and my other colleagues is positive. And if some things cropped up at certain moments, we knew how to correct our mistakes, to cooperate, to criticize each other openly, and to eliminate that formal unity, which has never existed. Now we have a unity based on diversity, on differing point of views, on contradiction. As a matter of fact, this is the democracy that we desired wholeheartedly.

[Moderator] Let me remark on something in connection with this aspect—What about the issue regarding the reason that we have allowed or rather who decided to allow yesterday's demonstrations to be shown live on television?

[Unidentified speaker] I must confess that in accordance with the mandate I received here, I decided that this demonstration should be broadcast live. Our belief is that in a free country demonstrations can take place and they must reflect coherent positions. Yesterday's demonstration probably also reflected a low level of public education. Demonstrations—as the decree-law of the NSF Council has established firmly—should take place with permission in well-established places, and for a limited time, exactly in order to avoid the danger of harming the flow of public life and to avoid possible attempts to harm public assets.

However, it is good for the whole country to know about these demonstrations, and I hope you agree with me, that these demonstrations—even with the reduced means of political expression that some people possess who have not been brought up in a democratic spirit, to express opinions in a coherent manner—are not always attempts to harm public life in the country or the normal flow of the democratic process. It is regrettable for the public to see that some demonstrators misuse the democratic framework and the freedoms that the current situation installed. Once again, I believe that it would be appropriate if the Front made a more firm statement—and I would like to ask you whether you could elaborate on this—which is the legal democratic framework, unrestricted from the point of view of freedom of opinion, in which these demonstrations must take place, and is proper to take place, for the appropriate and legal development of the democratic process in our country. There cannot be freedom or democracy under conditions of anarchy. It is good to remember that if under the dramatic conditions of the abusive power of the Ceausescu clan the people were forced, through a demonstration with an insurrectional character, to tear power from Ceausescu's hands—that does not mean that this is the only reason to hold a public demonstration. I would like you to elaborate on this point for those who will organize demonstrations in the future, within the framework of electoral campaigns, so that it becomes clear that our people have gained their democratic freedoms from a tyrannic power. However, I believe that it is good to establish the framework in which it will not be permitted that an anarchical power snatches away these freedoms.

[Iliescu] Please, precisely because you mentioned that we are talking about the assumption of power from a tyranny, we should most sincerely note that we are faced with the situation where democracy has to be learned. Democracy means freedom and dignity. Democracy means to achieve those aspirations which we could not achieve in the past. That is, the possibility to assert ourselves, to promote our thoughts and freedoms under the conditions of socioeconomic progress. As long as a democratic framework is used for destructive or even anarchical purposes, as you have said, these manifestations, these actions, have to be stopped, restricted. I tell you frankly that all over the civilized world such measures are taken. Nowhere in the world are terroristic, fascist, or Nazi manifestations considered free. Such manifestations cannot be accepted in our country either.

[Unidentified speaker] This was a spontaneous manifestation, those out there were not educated people. I would like us to mention this fact.

[Unidentified speaker] We are speaking about the general framework which should indeed be democratic since it belongs to the democratic education. [passage omitted]

[Iliescu] Somebody made a correct remark. The totalitarian regime meant crisis in all spheres: in the economic, social, and other spheres but also in the area of human relations and of the social psychological plane as regards people's behavior. Yesterday's manifestation demonstrated what the moral degradation of society throughout years meant and demonstrated the people's unfamiliarity with demonstrations, thus turning a public rally into such an anarchic manifestation. This is the

result of an accumulation over time of the lack of people's civic education and the lack political education.

[Unidentified speaker] Let me tell you that we cannot generalize yesterday's manifestation. There were very mature people there. Some discussed issues in a mature way. At the end, there were representatives who were mature from a political point of view and they themselves disagreed with some manifestations at this rally; the more so since this rally, at a certain point, at the call of the prime minister, did not succeed in ensuring a minute of silence in the memory of martyrs.

[Roman] This was achieved much later. We left with the entire procession and we achieved in the end that which yesterday was meant to be—that is, a national day of mourning. And I can tell you that upon leaving Victory Square with all the demonstrators, we went to Romana Square, where we paid tribute to the memory of those who died. We then went to the University where again we paid tribute, and when all this ended it was 12 o'clock midnight and a new day was beginning. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] I would like to say that it was a chance to differentiate the orientations within the demonstration. I would like to ask the prime minister to elaborate on some ideas that have appeared in various papers, in the domestic and international press, on some aspects of the separation of powers in the state, which is a programmatic point in the documents of the NSF Council, which is the mode of government's functioning vis a vis the Council and the other elements of power in the state. How was the issue of organization, or better said, reorganization of the state administration—which is in the jurisdiction of the government— approached, and what are the priorities in the activity of the government at the moment.

[Roman] During the first night when we came up with the platform of the NSF, it seemed to us that it was obvious that we should adopt something that has long existed in all the civilized world, since democratic revolutions had been won—that is, the separation of the executive power from the legislative, political power. As I have realized, the delimitation is not all that clear because, as somebody very well noted, nobody has spoken about it for tens of years. Maybe in some special treaties, where one had to mention forms of manifestation of the power. This means that the political legislative power is a component—that is, a major component, of the democratic power. The executive power—that is, the government, is the one that deals with the appropriate functioning of the economic apparatus, the administration. This means that the government is duty-bound first of all to lead the economic apparatus on rational bases, in accordance with the economic laws and in accordance with the economic principles, more or less unanimously accepted and, obviously, in this respect, to appeal to people with a high level of professional training and highly competent people, and no doubt, with a moral integrity that does not endanger normal contact with the public.

This is the essence of the matter. At the same time it goes without saying that the government does not act in an autonomous political way. From the point of view of the political line, it has to take the road established by the legislative power, the decrees and laws that exist—that is, implicitly, the representative power. It is not a direct product of the people and, therefore, the people's sovereignty can only be expressed in the political power which, at this moment, is being provisionally assumed, as stated, by the NSF.

Now, regarding the government's current problems, we said at the government meeting and later at the NSF Council meeting where I had to present a report on behalf of the government, that our economy is in a profound crisis and we also gave details providing reasons why this condition exists. To be able to answer questions today in full awareness of what goes on and be well documented, we also held a Government meeting. At the meeting, our previous assessment of the state of our economy was unfortunately confirmed and in some cases worse conditions were discovered. In the last period of the dictatorship, and increasingly so in the last ten years, the links between the various branches of the economy and within the branches themselves were broken. To be more specific and give a very concrete example, we have a multitude of so called production facil.'ies—installations, factories and plants—for which there are no resources, first of all internal ones, and moreover, it is impossible to secure these resources within a short interval. I am talking about raw materials, energy, gas, everything that means the supply of material resources for production. As I was saying, the situation is all the more serious as we know fully well that the dictatorship's tendency, lately, had been to choose to isolate itself from the rest of the world for strictly political reasons, that of maintaining power, and that this also included an economic isolation.

Consequently, the most serious problem we are currently faced with is a serious imbalance between the production facilities, the installations, what potentially can be produced, and the raw materials; the resources we have in order to produce. One of the most serious elements is that for years the dictator had been refusing to increase our energy potential in a rational way—that is, the problem of coal-based thermal power stations has been dragging on for years. It is known that they had been conceived by the same leadership, in a way which was completely divorced from all reality. Although their situation had been known for years, nothing was done to remedy things. So we find ourselves in the position of working with sparse quantities of energy; with a quantity of gas also affected by the natural decline of our energy resources and which cannot currently be replaced through imports because this involves a certain infrastructure—pipelines and so on—and, consequently, the imbalance presents us with the main problem, a most

difficult one, that the entire production capacity cannot work at full capacity. I can give you briefly a few examples: the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry can currently operate at—and I am very generous in my assessment—60 percent of its capacity; the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry around 80 percent in circumstances in which we can maintain the present situation; Ministry of Mines the same, approximately 80 percent; and so on.

Regarding the political link, undoubtedly we have pledged ourselves to ensure that each citizen of this country should have a secure job, conditions for a decent, civilized life. Consequently, the discussion I had with the members of the Government was mainly based on this idea: how to manage so that in the circumstances in which the production machinery works as well as it can on the basis of existing resources and of resources we can obtain from abroad, we can also maintain the labor force at a normal level—that is, a situation in which everyone has a job. The two ways we have chosen are both reasonable in my view. One refers to embarking upon some repair work which for years has been disastrous and the other consists in us having ask all ministries to carry out decisively a program of professional recycling and specialization, not as it was done in the past but in all seriousness. No matter how long this takes, let us do it in earnest, so that the people feel that they are acquiring a specialization and become useful to society. We are moving decisively in this direction.

[Moderator] I would like you to insist on two aspects. You spoke of the government as state administration which deals mainly with economic problems and, of course the administrative apparatus. You have forgotten the foreign policy issues. This is one of the main issues which pertain to the competence of the government. Also, in respect to foreign policy you made a remark which I would like you to clarify in order to avoid speculations: that it [the government] does not act autonomously from the political point of view. This is the situation now when the Front does not declare itself to be a political force but in the conditions in which the election campaign involves political forces which are in the forefront of our political life, there will be political parties with well-defined platforms, some of them perhaps winning the election either as a coalition or as a party. I would not like your remark to be taken as being a political promissory note for their future. In the circumstances of an elected government, this will have an activity and will represent a certain policy. [Indistinct voices all together]

[Iliescu] As a matter of fact, the prime minister does not belong to any party.

[Roman] I believe that after my participation, along with these people, in what has been our revolution, everything that was a part of the political past—as I matter of fact I have no political past whatsoever—and everything that was past policy has changed completely along with the uprising. But this is not the point. The government is duty bound to ensure that the productive structures should function properly to the benefit of society.

In connection with the concrete political situation we are experiencing now, I have already said that, in my opinion, free elections mean that the citizens can cast their votes without having to worry about hard living conditions. This is the crux of the matter. If the economy does not function well, if the productive apparatus does not yield, providing the best possible results in the given circumstances, then we will not be able to ensure decent and normal living conditions. [passage omitted]

[Roman] As for political subordination, things are quite clear. In all countries in the world, the prime minister is appointed by the organ representing the people's sovereignty.

[Unidentified speaker] He is elected by the parliament.

[Roman] Yes, he is elected by the parliament. As for the foreign policy, this is a sensitive field. Everybody knows that the foreign policy is primarily an expression of one's political options. Of course, from this viewpoint, the government cannot monopolize this field. This is obvious for any country and I need not argue the point. From the government's viewpoint, the Foreign Affairs Ministry is undoubtedly the one which helps us to open to the world, and as regards the functioning of the economy, we need more than ever to open up. Of course, we also have another instrument, the Foreign Trade Ministry and even a third option. We have decided that the enterprises, directorates and ministries have the right to embark upon direct contacts with agencies abroad in the matter of direct relations and exchange of cooperation.

[Moderator] One last question, Mr. Prime Minister, which refers to your statement regarding unemployment: The government's task is that of ensuring a job for each citizen of this country. This is of course something we all wish for, but I am referring to a situation we can find in all countries, even the most advanced, whereby this wish cannot be fulfilled. The government's aims are very admirable and all the citizens undoubtedly back them up but we witness a large number of unemployed even in the most developed countries where highly qualified and experienced people can find themselves jobless in some cases, and for long periods of time. I would not like to see a discrepancy between the beautiful aims put forth by the government and the concrete capabilities existing in the country.

[Roman] I thank you for your handsome praise but this is indeed a matter of concern to us and I have made it clear that this was one of the main points we have discussed. The matter is a very difficult one—all the more so because we are not in a position to use the production capabilities to their potential in circumstances in which we are forced to revise everything connected with the investment policy of the time of the dictatorship because most of these investments were arbitrary and devoid of any foundation, economic or

technical, hence leading nowhere in matters of efficiency. On the other hand, the investments must be revised so that those which are worth pursuing can at least be aligned with the most elementary norms of technological design. So the problem is accurately raised and is also most topical. We do not resort to miraculous solutions in this matter because they do not exist. What I am trying to achieve at this moment, in circumstances where the entire country finds itself in a revolutionary or post-revolutionary period in which we still find elements which we consider revolutionary, is to enable the people to express freely their political option regarding their economic circumstances.

One cannot talk about political choice, if they are not free from a material standard point of view. I cannot assure you—I do not want to make demagoguery—that phenomena such as mentioned by you will not appear sooner or later. It has appeared, just to give an example, under conditions of much greater stability in the neighboring countries, in the East European countries. In some countries, it is less apparent then in others; however, they are present everywhere. Therefore, I cannot assure you that they will not happen in our country as well. This is something which, in the last instance, will depend on the political options of the future form of political power in Romania, as a result of free elections.

What we are doing now is to ensure a job for everyone, with means currently available to us. I have already mentioned two such levers; now I shall mention yet another, one to be carefully thought out, namely we have set up the task and very soon we shall (?speak up) in favour of a free initiative regarding small-scale industry and services. We have a draft law-norms providing for the establishment of a national commission for small-scale industry and services and, evidently, many people who want to show initiative in the most varied activities and services can do this in that particular field. But here again we come up with a big "but": Will we be able to provide them with the suitable resources? [passage omitted on unidentified voices speaking all together].

[Roman] We must first of all reflect on what our economy can offer and the Ministry of National Economy is currently making an analysis in depth to that effect to see what resources we can offer them, but first of all we must examine what initiatives we can take. I can, however, tell you in connection with foreign activities, that currently we are taking the normal, usual, correct, [word indistinct] and profitable steps in order to organize the imports which are most important for the economy.

The priority, as you well know, is the import of foodstuffs and currently the first imports to come in over the next ten days and in February are those of food, mainly meat and meat products. It is no mean effort, in fact it is a quite a considerable one. To give a global figure, I can tell you that in the first quarter of 1990, out of the total quantity of meat planned—266,000 tonnes—80,000 are already contracted for import and then we shall contract the rest up to 120,000 tonnes.

[Moderator] Thank you. I would like to ask Mr Professor Mazilu to talk about a problem of great interest to the public, namely the upcoming electoral process and the legal framework in which it will take place. What are the concerns of the NSF Council leadership and of the Constitutional Commission in this respect; what suggestions and proposals have been made; to what extent are we studying the experience of states with a history of democratic traditions; and on what historical traditions of Romanian democracy and liberalism does this commission base its activity?

[Mazilu] In recent days the Council received many inquiries in connection with the elections; there was also criticism and doubt. Therefore, the Council decided to make certain statements, even before the draft is published. This document is in its final drafting phase and we believe that it will be published in the next few days, so that the people can discuss it in total freedom. Their opinions will be taken into consideration, so that we can have a truly democratic electoral law, which can guarantee truly democratic elections.

[Moderator] The elections will be free; allow me to ask you, truly free, or not free?

[Mazilu] Truly, truly free. I say truly, because in the past they were also called free, but were anything but free. Now they will be truly free. For 45 years the elections were called free, but were constantly rigged. This time, we want them to be truly free and nobody may dare rig them.

We took over from our Romanian traditions the most advanced democratic formulas. We also borrowed from the experience of all civilized countries in the world. There is no secret that we consulted in this respect with various experts at home and abroad, who were kind enough to help us. We initiated these consultations in order to issue a truly advanced law and get satisfaction in a sphere where we have been deprived of this feeling for so many years on end. In this respect, I would like to read several points that represent our Council's opinion on the future elections:

First of all, in the next elections, all political parties and formations as well as prestigious personalities of our public life will have the possibility of running in the elections or proposing candidates without any kind of discrimination and under conditions of full equality.

Second, during the electoral campaign, the candidates, parties, the political parties, all social organizations, and the citizens will be entitled to freely express their views, without any kind of discrimination, through meetings, rallies, radio, television, and other mass information media. Thus, access to radio and television time will be guaranteed and granted to all groups, equally and free of charge, without any kind of privileges.

Third, the political parties and formations participating in the electoral campaign will receive subsidies from the state budget. Consequently, it is forbidden to subsidize one's electoral campaign with funds received from abroad or other funds that are not publicly declared.

The unfolding of electoral operations will be under the control of the parties, candidates, press organs, radio, and television, in order to ensure the objectivity and correctness of the exertion of electoral rights. In this respect, a central electoral commission will be established, consisting of higher magistrates and independent figures, in order to ensure the objectivity of the electoral process.

[Moderator] Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] I would like certain aspects to be dealt with more thoroughly so I am asking the prime minister to answer us. Both during yesterday's meeting and in general during debates of late great anxiety in connection with the stability of managerial structures in enterprises of the national economy, in industrial enterprises, various economic units, and also in connection with the possibility of ensuring a continuity of economic activities in the conditions of the revolution. It is a delicate issue.

[Roman] Good question...

[Moderator] Yes, and one which I am asking you to tackle with all the nuances and clarity the public needs.

[Roman] Yes, this is a question which I think needs an answer although it sometimes involves somewhat delicate nuances. Under the conditions of political stability, of a democracy in action, there are precise rules and things are fairly simple. Under conditions in our country—that is, under the conditions in which these NSF councils were formed in the enterprises, in which the representative character of these councils is being questioned, in which, just as President Iliescu stated earlier on, the manner in which these councils were formed in the enterprises is still questioned—NSF councils were self-formed as none asked them to be formed, they were born through a natural, democratic process; in these conditions, as you know, many leading cadres—directors, chief engineers, accountants—were contested. It is very interesting to not that today I had clarifications from the ministers I spoke with, mainly from the big ministries which control the main economic branches and I am glad to say that, to a very large extent, with very few exceptions I would say, all the suggestions put forth by the workers have been justified.

Today, I had a talk with Vatasescu, minister of electrical engineering, electronics, and information science, who just arrived at the Council coming from Timisoara, where he had gone with pain in his heart having been told he will meet with chaos there; as you know, in that city there are many enterprises belonging to his ministry. Well, he had a most pleasant surprise. Indeed, almost all directors had been replaced—the average age was cut down from 58 to 42, but this in of itself does not mean a lot; however, he himself had to admit that if he had had to make appointments in these enterprises, he would not have been able to come up with a better formula than the one he met there. Therefore, one must confess that this democratism, this form of workers democratic expression—I would also like to include the technical intelligentsia here—has proven its viability.

We agreed with the other members of the government to proceed as follows: Whenever the appointment of a certain cadre, particularly of a manager, is being questioned, the relevant ministry or industrial central department should examine the given case and adopt one of the two alternatives: if it comes to the conclusion that the person disliked by the workers does not offer appropriate guarantees of competence and moral integrity—consequently, through elections or another democratic form, agreement is reached with the representatives of the working people in the respective enterprise on another person to replace the one in question; or the ministry may come to the conclusion that the person in doubt should not be replaced, because he has the necessary qualifications—then, the minister has to assume responsibility for his decisions, the same as the government itself has to stand by its decisions in certain cases. When the minister or the ministry assume responsibility for a given decision, a dialogue should be opened between the representatives of the working people in enterprises and the ministry's representatives, including the minister himself, in which both sides present their arguments, pro and con. After due negotiations, an agreement will be reached.

[Moderator] Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Mr Iliescu, what is the status of the press in a free country, given the fact that the NSF Council has decided to grant total political independence to radio and television? What should be the main characteristics of the press, radio, and television under conditions of no censorship, when one is faced with the problem of the journalist's responsibility, a true burden, which we try to bear as well as possible?

[Iliescu] I believe the press should reflect what is happening in the entire society. We have to learn to live in a free democracy, we have to learn democracy. The press is an instrument for asserting the people's right to expression and to free exchange of views and opinions. At yesterday's meeting, one could hear the word censorship. The representatives of the parties are criticizing the NSF for allegedly hampering their access to mass media and claim that the Front is controlling the press and television, but somebody from the NSF Council pointed out that the Front does not even have its own press organ. It is true, it does not have one.

[Moderator] In other countries, (?ruling) parties, the governments, legislative bodies—for instance, in the United States—there is no governmental press organ,

nor does the Congress have one, I do not think this is such a big thing [sentence as heard].

[Iliescu] Of course not, but I mention this only in connection with the reproaches leveled at us by the parties, which complain that they do not have their own press organs...

[Moderator, interrupting]...but they will have them...

[Iliescu, interrupting]...and they blame the Front for this. The NSF is not to be blamed for this; the NSF does not make any difficulties in this respect. What is indeed lacking—there was harsh criticism in this respect—is the need to work out a new law on the press, to replace the old one, which is (?virtually) abrogated. We are working on such a project, which is a pretty complicated task, but we must issue at least a concise version of a draft law on the press, which should abrogate all regulations of the old press law, and should issue a few general regulations for the smooth development of the press activity from this point of view.

In connection with the press itself and its activity, as I said, we are all learning, including the press, with [word indistinct]. We were criticized by the readers. It is only natural that the press cannot possibly cover everything at this turbulent and (?most eventful) time. At the same time, there is always the temptation to search for sensations, which, I am sure, has a great appeal for the public. However, the people have begun to be bored of sensational stuff and are looking for more substantial items about their life, about our socioeconomic life, and about public concerns. They are looking for an in-depth discussion of problems directly affecting them, problems that are in need of a solution.

I believe that we have a void here, probably a result of the repulsion felt against past press behavior, when the press was dominated by so-called ecoromic problems, which had nothing to do with true economic problems. The papers were full of reports from industry and agriculture, but of the kind that was of no interest to anyone. In the last 5 years, I worked at the TECHNICA Publishing House and I know that the major press organs would not even allow the publication of interesting editorials printed elsewhere, which might have contributed to improving the skills of cadres in industry, under the pretext that it would be tantamount to advertising. Consequently, everything was manipulated from above.

However, the total absence of items in our current press dealing with problems pertaining to concrete aspects of the people's life, of the economic units for instance, does represent a void. Of course, the press can no longer be given directions in this respect, but I hope that each press organ—I believe that the censorship mentioned by those people [words indistinct] some decrees, I do not know of such things, I have no idea how one could even give directions in this respect—actually, the editorial boards of the papers might decide by themselves to publish material received from units and people. [sentence as heard] This is also not easy—that is, how to select from it. There are many requests, many people want to write, while everybody knows that the press has limited space, hence, it cannot satisfy all requests. I believe this is the explanation for the criticism leveled at the press and at ourselves, for allegedly not having liquidated censorship. I am referring to the way in which...

[Moderator, interrupting] Maybe this also has to do with our lack of professionalism...[passage omitted on several unidentified voices talking at once or in succession about lack of censorship in Romania today]

[Iliescu] Of course, nobody likes to be criticized, but one has to live with this practice of social life, without which one cannot have democracy or improve oneself. [passage omitted on unidentified voices stressing need for dialogue between politicians and media]

[Radio announcer] Esteemed listeners, we have had a direct link with the Free Romanian Television, where Ion Iliescu, Dumitru Mazilu, Petre Roman, and Aurel Dragos Munteanu have made statements. [end recording]

More Mass Graves Discovered in Timisoara

AU1601183190 Paris AFP in English 1803 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 16 (AFP)—Another mass grave has been found in the western Romanian city of Timisoara containing bodies of people tortured and killed in the revolution, the newspaper ADEVARUL said Tuesday. Emotion was running high as a result of the report, with residents searching cemeteries for more bodies, local people interviewed by telephone told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. Thirty unidentified bodies were found in a similar grave last month after the ouster of the Ceausescu regime.

The new grave, found at Heroes Cemetery, contained bodies of people killed during a crack-down on demonstrations December 17 at the start of the revolution which toppled dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, the newspaper said. It did not specify how many bodies were found, but said relatives had identified four of them.

Cemetery director Dorel Cinade said the bodies were transported from a local hospital on December 27. Timisoara funeral director Axente Bociort was in charge of them, he added. They were put into standard coffins and buried the next day, according to the report.

"Many bodies bore marks of sadistic torture. Pieces of adhesive tape were stuck on the bodies with numbers upon them such as 7/1078, whose meaning is not known," the newspaper said. A piece of paper stuck to the chest of one body said "arrived the 19th at 8:30." The savagely mutilated body of a young girl had the number 6/1063 on it. The fact that some bodies had bandages on them showed the victims "died or were killed in hospitals", according to the newspaper.

It said that a mother had identified her son, "killed December 18 on the steps of the cathedral" and that another woman recognized her husband "who disappeared during the December 17 demonstrations". Two other victims were also identified.

The total number of people killed in Timisoara, where the uprising began, is not yet known. Reports putting the death toll at 3,000 to 4,000 have not been confirmed.

UK's Waldegrave Expresses 'Strong Solidarity'

AU1501221190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2020 GMT 15 Jan 90

["William Waldegrave About His Visit to Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/01/1990—In a statement he made to journalists upon his arrival in Bucharest, William Waldegrave, secretary of state at the Foreign Office of Great Britain, expressed his admiration for the courage of the Romanian people during the latest developments. Showing that he came to Romania to get informed about current problems, about the difficulties that confront the country and see how Great Britain could help it, William Waldegrave said that he was the first member of the British Government to come to Romania after the developments in December and expressed his deep emotion and strong solidarity with the Romanian people, and paid them a warm homage.

Holds Talks With Celac

AU1501221290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2021 GMT 15 Jan 90

["Sergiu Celac William Waldegrave Talks"—ROMPRES healine]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/01/1990—On January 15 Sergiu Celac, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, received William Waldegrave, secretary of state in the Foreign Office of Great Britain.

Both sides considered that the democratic changes in Romania offered prerequisites for the resumption and expansion of links between the two countries.

During the interview palpable aspects of the Romanian-British cooperation and its development lines were examined.

Informed NSF To Disband After Elections

AU1601173790 Paris AFP in English 1614 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 16 (AFP)—British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs William Waldegrave said here Tuesday that he had received assurances that Romania's ruling National Salvation Front (NSF) intends to disband after elections. "I am encouraged by the clear view given to me by all the ministers in the transitional government that their government is a transitional government leading to free elections and to a country which will be a democracy," he told a press conference.

Mr. Waldegrave, who began a two-day visit Monday, said that for the sake of stability, elections should be held as soon as possible. "The longer the period before the election, the more the danger of conflict between the people and the transitional government," he said. "Stability cannot come until Romania has a proper democratically elected government."

He stressed that the NSF should open talks with representatives of opposition parties as soon as possible to work out a consensus on the organization of free elections. He said that opposition parties should receive help which would allow them to participate in the polls.

Mr. Waldegrave, who has held talks with both government and opposition representatives during his stay here, said he was "optimistic about the future in Romania." He said Britiain was ready to help Romania restructure its economy and that he had received a long list of requests from the authorities here.

'Nothing Unusual' at Albania Border

AU1601121190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 90 p 8

[Lj. Mudresa report: "Everything As Before"]

[Text] Titograd, [no date as published]—Bozaj, a border crossing on the Yugoslav-Albanian border, was visited yesterday by probably the greatest number of domestic and foreign journalists. During the 3 hours which we spent there, the border crossing was visited by about a dozen domestic and foreign teams of journalists. At one time they walked all the way to the Albanian border, but were then turned back by the Albanian border guards because they did not have an entry visa.

The representatives of the Yugoslav media are here almost day and night waiting for the news from neighboring Albania. However, the news very rarely comes from the other side—which is incidentally one of the best guarded borders in the world—let alone travelers.

So, yesterday there was nothing unusual on the border crossing except extremely rare routine checks of cars and passengers. Both domestic and foreign journalists today tried to set up cameras pointing toward Albania, but were prohibited from doing so by the duty militiamen.

A scheduled freight train operating between Titograd-Shkoder arrived in Tuzi railway station yesterday about 1210. Train driver Danilo Damjanovic said: "As far as I can see, nothing unusual has been happening in Albania. Things are the same as they were several months ago. The work at the railroad station Bajze, some 20 kilometers from Shkoder, is going on as usual. Our railroad organization's staff who have been driving trains between Albania and Tuzi stop in Bajze for about 3 hours. We are free to walk around the station, drink coffee and juice, or to talk to people. There are many of our people living in Bajze. They all say that they watch our and Italian television and that they saw the live relay of the latest events in Romania.

Otherwise, I transport wheat from Yugoslavia. While it is being unloaded two soldiers guard the train, two from each side. The station staff with whom we come into contact are very correct and the whole business concerning the train's handling is done professionally and quickly. I am a little bit surprised by the news that a state of emergency has been introduced in Albania...," Damjanovic said.

Drnovsek Receives Gorbachev Message

AU1601200890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 90

[Text] Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received a message by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. This message is a reply to the message that Drnovsek sent to him on the eve of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Malta.

It is pointed out in the message that the Soviet Union shares the nonaligned countries' opinion concerning the significance of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue about the issues of disarmament, security, and peace, and it is agreed that without economic detente, the process of relieving tension would not be complete.

Gorbachev stresses the Soviet Union's readiness for cooperation with the Nonaligned Movement in solving international economic questions, including the debtors' crisis.

Cheysson Rules Out SFRY Joining EC

LD1701101290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0553 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 17 (TANJUG)—The European Community (E.C.) cannot admit any more new members and subsequently not even Yugoslavia, but the country could integrate with the E.C. at the economic level, European Parliament Deputy, leader of the Socialist delegation in the European Parliament and President of the Human Rights Fund in Paris Claude Cheysson said in an interview for Zagreb Television yesterday.

Cheysson explained that admitting new members into the E.C. would increase its own problems and that for Yugoslavia, the E.C. "is presently out of the question" as it is a "country which values its independence a great deal" and thus "has no reason to enter the mold of the E.C. where it would be subject to huge limitations."

According to Cheysson, Yugoslavia should seriously review the question of taking part in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) which, as opposed to the E.C., deals exclusively in trade questions. Cheysson considers that Yugoslavia would not have political obstacles in entering EFTA.

Yugoslavia could integrate with the E.C. at the economic level, Cheysson believes, pointing out the possibilities in terms of transportation, production of cargo vehicles, environmental protection and joint ventures.

Cheysson pointed out that in future, when a monetary unity is achieved within the E.C., it would be in Yugoslavia's interest to conclude a monetary agreement with the E.C. The agreement would ensure Yugoslavia exchange rate stability, joint investments, the possibility of using the European Currency Unit (ECU) which would become the E.C.'s currency.

Cheysson complimented Yugoslavia, saying among other things that it was "an inspiration" for his entire generation during and immediately after the war.

He particularly pointed out Yugoslavia's independence, its resistance to Stalin's dictatorship and rejection to join the military alliance.

However, the West has started to forget Yugoslavia, so that it has grown quite alone in Europe, Cheysson said. Cheysson explained the mechanism of the process of

forgetting, saying that Yugoslavia did not belong to the Eastern Bloc so "the West did not particularly have to invest efforts to pull it out of this" and as it did not belong to the other bloc, the Western community did not have to "sacrifice itself to help it along in its development."

More Serbian Exports to Hard Currency Countries

AU1701092890 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 90 p 6

[TANJUG report: "Serbia's Exports to the Hard Currency Area Increased by 5.3 Percent"]

[Text] The most valuable result of last year's export balance of Serbia's economy was an increase in exports to the hard currency area of 5.3 percent. Goods worth $3,077,000,000 were delivered to these markets, which is $156 million more than in 1988. In this respect, the economy of Serbia proper increased exports to the hard currency area by 1.8 percent, the economy of Vojvodina increased these by 14.7 percent, and the economy of Kosovo by 8.4 percent.

However, entire exports were less than in 1988, although by a negligible 0.4 percent. Nevertheless, Serbia leads with exports of $4,012,000,000 and is followed by Slovenia and Croatia. Some of the decline in exports can be attributed to Serbia proper, which reduced its deliveries to the foreign market by 3.6 percent, while Vojvodina and Kosovo increased their exports by 8.1 percent and 2.8 percent respectively. Last year, Serbia's economy increased its imports by 10.9 percent, which definitely had a beneficial effect on supplies of raw materials and reproduction materials to the market, which prevented a fall in production.

Markovic on Tour; Speaks on Economic Policy

Addresses Journalists Meeting

LD0301231890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2056 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jan (TANJUG)—Since it was announced that the dinar would become convertible, a half million dollars worth of foreign currency has been bought off and the first serious price cuts have been announced, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic said in this evening's traditional New Year's meeting with domestic and foreign journalists.

The black foreign currency market was destroyed in just a few days, Markovic stressed when recalling that Yugoslavia was the first socialist country to introduce convertible currency. Convertibility of the dinar completely opens up doors for the world market's positive influence on our economy and practically integrates it with the world economy.

Aware of sacrifices, we have bravely decided in favor of reforming the economic and political system and the state, because we want a sound economy and freedom for the people, the FEC president stressed while noting that the government's program, despite doubts and problems, was approved of completely.

Having assessed the last year as one of the most tumultuous in the postwar period, Markovic stressed that room has opened up for democratic development in the world, especially in the area where economic efficiency and political democracy did not exist. No one can halt this process, and this is good.

I hope that positive processes will yield serious results not just in the interest of the countries in which they occured, but also of the whole world, FEC President Ante Markovic said.

Briefs Local Leaders on Reform

LD0401175890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's meeting, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic briefed the presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils about prepared operative plans for implementing the economic reform program and its measures. According to the FEC Secretariat for Information, Markovic drew attention to the first results in the implementation of the new measures, as well as to the need for their daily monitoring.

The presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils also were briefed on preparations for the adoption of the remaining systemic solutions, while at the same time, special importance was given to the FEC initiative regarding changes to the SFRY Constitution, the objective of which is to achieve greater efficiency of the federal state. This is, as was stressed, a component part of the reform program adopted by the Yugoslav Assembly. It was also said that a law is being prepared which should adapt the social accountancy service's work to reform solutions.

The presidents of the republican and provincial executive councils pointed out economic problems. With regard to this, it was agreed that FEC teams, headed by President Markovic, will visit all republics and provinces in the next few days in order to reach common solutions.

Visits Skopje, Meets Gogovski

LD0801224590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2057 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Skopje, 8 Jan (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, who this afternoon arrived in Skopje on a 2-day visit to Macedonia, this evening held talks with a delegation of the Executive Council of Macedonia, headed by President Gligorie Gogovski. The hosts informed the members of the Federal Executive Council accompanying Ante Markovic about economic trends and problems in the Macedonian economy, and reiterated their support for

the federal government program, which they described as a consistent model for reducing inflation. [passage omitted]

Remarks in Skopje Noted

AU0901184190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and his colleagues have finished their 2-day working visit to Macedonia. Talks were held on the Federal Executive Council's new measures in the Macedonian Presidency and the Tito Metal Works. Boris Djordjievski is in Skopje:

Ivan Bogdanov, president of the managing council, stressed during the talks that the Tito Metal Works has 15 factories in Macedonia and 1 in Kosovo, and that its aim was to realize 70 percent of production and then to expand throughout Yugoslavia and to earn more profits through small public holding companies. Therefore, the workers of one of the largest collectives in Macedonia, which has more than 9,000 employees, fully support the Federal Executive Council's measures because they ensure quicker and more stable development.

Now that the program has been supported it should be implemented, stressed Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council. Conditions have been created for greater economic efficiency through the pluralism of ownership and competition, which ensures greater independence for economic entities, but also ensures that they take responsibility for themselves on the market. Politics and the state have been left to create only the appropriate setting and regulate relations with foreign countries and the area of monetary and fiscal policy.

A program should be implemented with the aim of creating a healthy economy which integrates countries and peoples; this is a process that no one can halt except through force, and then only temporarily. The basic lever is the convertible dinar, which offers the opportunity for the Yugoslav market to open up increasingly to the world. The orientation toward a new system means that economic logic will also more successfully destroy the barriers of national economies in our country.

In reply to the question of whether this program will put an end to the upsurge of nationalism, Ante Markovic stressed that any process of democratization means above all the strengthening of progressive forces but also releases those negative forces which are the first to come to the surface, but only temporarily.

Conditions have been created to successfully curb inflation. The gray market in foreign currency has been eliminated, about $3 billion has been allocated for imports, and enterprises are reducing prices by eliminating the inflationary expectations that have been built into them. However, it is strange, stressed Markovic, that prices in Macedonia are nevertheless rising.

Enterprises can no longer be welfare and humanitarian organizations, said the president of the Federal Executive Council, replying to a question on what would happen to workers who are made redundant. The community must take responsibility for them. The social aspect should not prevail over the motivational aspect for greater earnings in collectives. Only in this way can conditions and means be created for new employment.

Those who have allocated more for development and less for personal incomes have not been harmed now, thought Markovic, because they have provided themselves with a better position in the market and will be more competitive. The measures on freezing wages will also last for as long as is necessary for the economy to be oriented toward itself, for it to provide greater efficiency and rationality, and for collective agreements to be reached which should give value to work, encourage a different attitude toward work, destroy the monopoly on work places, and encourage a more responsible attitude toward social capital.

Meets Slovenian Officials

LD1001114690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2216 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—Each of the measures proposed by the Federal Executive Council [FEC] should be assessed in the context of a comprehensive economic reform program. Proposed changes in the SFRY's Constitution should be viewed in the same way, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic stressed this evening in talks with top representatives of Slovenia's sociopolitical and economic life. The talks focused on topical social and economic issues.

Markovic spoke with particular attention about the packet of measures recently proposed by the federal government stressing that not all that the FEC had offered was good or rather the best possible.

The president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Dusan Sinigoj, spoke about the work done in Slovenia in restructuring the economy, about new enterprises and about changes in other fields being carried out as a part of economic reform. According to a statement by the Slovene Information Committee, Sinigoj also drew attention to the practical effects of the FEC's program on the Slovene economy. [passage omitted]

Sinogoj drew the attention of the FEC president and his aides, who also took part in the talks, to the consequences of the economic blockade against Slovenia and stressed that it was also affecting foreign trade activities, thus causing even greater damage. [passage omitted]

Having explained in greater detail some of the FEC's measures, Ante Markovic stressed that by legalizing the pluralism of ownership forms, the way had been paved for political pluralism and that no one in Yugoslavia could halt this process except by force and that would

only be temporary. This, according to Markovic, is a guarantee for future development and democracy. He also stressed that making the dinar convertible was not a goal but a means of restructuring the economy.

Speaking about the role of monetary policy, Markovic underlined the fact that the adopted measures had helped to change it considerably and that the main objective of new monetary policy was to protect our currency and ensure convertibility in international transactions. The National Bank of Yugoslavia will no longer print dinars for either the state or anyone else, Markovic said and went on to stress that no one should expect any more money from new issues.

At Brdo near Kranj, tomorrow Ante Markovic and his aides will have talks with representatives of the Slovene economy about the most topical issues of economic reform and the implementation of the FEC's measures.

Visits Croatia for Talks

LD1101134190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2313 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—Neither the new economic system nor the reform stand a chance of succeeding unless each individual enterprise or environment takes on its share of responsibility [words indistinct] and insists on its rights, but without being prepared to take on any obligations. This was stressed this evening during talks between Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic and his aides and the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The talks focused on implementing economic policy measures and an initiative to change the Federal Constitution. The talks were held within a program of official visits to all the republics and provinces by an FEC delegation. [passage omitted]

Addresses Vojvodina Businessmen

LD1201134890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 11 Jan (TANJUG)— The consolidation of the agrarian sector, the banks' financial recovery, and the motivating factor of earnings were the center of attention this evening in talks which Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic had with Vojvodina businessmen. [passage omitted]

Addressing the Vojvodina businessmen, Ante Markovic said: We are quite determined to resolve in the first place the "Eastern sin" of all socialisms, over which all socialisms have fallen down, and that is the attitude toward ownership. Here we have quite clearly decided on complete pluralism of ownership and its competitiveness. Some others have also come out in favor of pluralism of ownership, but not for competition as well. We must achieve economic efficiency, and the other side of the coin, without which there is no efficiency, is political democratization.

We have decided to pursue independent economic subjects, their complete independence including independence in economic development, so that they can take full responsibility for their decisions without the state and politics having the right to interfere in their internal relations. Without this there can be no market economy.

This is why we have proposed certain constitutional changes, in which we are doing away with the last remnants of the consensus economy, which give municipalities the right to interfere in the internal affairs of individual organizations. In the same way, the rights and authority of structures in the provinces, republics, and the federation must be changed.

At the same time, it is completely clear that, together with the new economy which we are developing, and in which pluralism of ownership must be ensured, political pluralism with all its consequences must also be developed. In that respect, there is no choice, because the one cannot go without the other. The parliamentary system, electoral system, and everything else cannot remain as they have been. There is no reason for the existence of socio-political chambers and chambers of associated labor, which have a dominant position today. Whom should a chamber of associated labor protect when we have pluralism of ownership and these various forms of ownership are competing? However, we have not tackled these issues yet; we asked for just those changes to the Constitution which would enable the FEC to bear, at the federal level, the responsibility demanded from such a systemic institution.

There is no market-organized country in which, irrespective of how the state is organized—as a federation or a single, united state—three basic functions are not at the disposal of a state: monetary and fiscal policies, as well as the policy of economic relations with foreign countries. The new system cannot operate, Markovic said, unless the federal state is empowered with these three functions. For that reason, we demanded changes to the taxation system, because it is just a part of the fiscal system. We asked for legal means to intervene; we asked for changes in administration and the role of the central bank: the National Bank.

We have not asked for these things in order for this FEC to get power, but for it to implement consistently and correctly the inaugurated system, the only system which provides a chance for this country to eventually emerge from the crisis.

The federal government's program received such support that today it represents this country's program and, by the way, I can say that this country's political forces, if they want to count on succeeding, should incorporate it into their programs.

In proposing this program, and in fighting to make it the country's program for emerging from the present situation, we have in mind that this is only a part of the overall emergence from our situation, we have in mind that this is just a part of the overall social reform

program; in the final analysis, the dinar's convertibility, for which we can already guarantee that nothing can bring it into question, represents the foundations of that part of the program.

This morning, as stressed by Ante Markovic, foreign currency reserves reached 6.5 billion dollars. This was accomplished, despite all forecasts that foreign currency reserves would dwindle in a month or two. Today we can claim that it cannot happen and that we took the dinar's convertibility as a means to an end, not an end in itself.

We endorsed a program for defeating inflation; but this is not the final end, but is rather a means, since the final end is the creation of an atmosphere in which a sound, new economy and a free, democratic society—in which every man lives proudly and is not ashamed of the society—can be formed.

The convertibility of the Yugoslav currency most efficiently opens up the country to the world and vice versa. There are no borders which we can erect between ourselves. The system centered around the currency's convertibility will erase them all; these are the advantages which, on the one hand, are integrating the country, and, on the other, force each subject to start taking care of himself of herself, instead of others taking care of himself or herself.

Because thereby we have halted the rise in exchange rates, because we slashed interest rates 20 to 30 times, because we halted the rise of imports and the rise of personal incomes, we have created preconditions for prices to be halved. We have not opted for a price freeze because by blocking everything a price freeze would prevent the process of internal changes; it is clear that internal tensions would grow. We are not proud of the wage freeze, no we are not; it is just a relatively short repose, Markovic said.

Visits Montenegro

LD1401140990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1826 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Titograd, 12 Jan (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council's [FEC] program is only a part of the overall program for reforming our society—the economic, state, social, and political reform—in which on the one hand we must acquire an efficient industry, an efficient economy, capable of competing with other developed economies in the world, and on the other political democracy which will have at its center the individual with his interests, concerns, motivation, and his rights to use his freedom fully in every political respect.

This was stressed in Titograd today by FEC President Ante Markovic in several hours of talks with Montenegrin businessmen and representatives of the Executive Council of this republic. Aware that time is needed for developing such a system, Markovic added that we have created the prerequisites to be able to take action this year which should facilitate the elimination of inflation as part of our whole program, not as the aim toward which we are moving, but as the necessary means to enable us, in the new economic climate we are creating, in new economic conditions, to build a new society in which this development will be based on healthy economic foundations and a healthy economic atmosphere in which motivation to achieve increasingly great effects will be the priority goal. We also decided not to pursue our currency's convertibility, one of the basic elements in our program, as a goal. You know that in all documents of socialist countries, including our own, it is stated that a goal should be the achievement of convertibility.

With such a convertible currency, which has now become our mainstay, the FEC president continued, we are entering the overall changes with a means, a method, a measure of everything that is happening; we are moving in the final analysis toward something which is most market oriented and economically most consistent with regard to our opening up toward the world. In his view, there is no other factor which can open us up more to the world, integrate us in world currents and, on the other hand, bring that world and its most positive creations and tendencies to our own country. This is why other policies must serve to protect this and such value of the currency, Markovic said. Monetary policy, therefore, first of all no longer has the task of underpinning production, but rather of preserving the value of this convertible currency on a global scale.

Noting the banks' new role and commitments, Markovic mentioned that in drawing up the measures, the FEC knew that entry into the new system had to account for the existence of enormous differences in the development stages of our republics and provinces. With the proposals which we made, we were not attempting to win votes. At the end of the day we are doing an extremely difficult and thankless job, for us personally, but for this country it is a very honorable and great task. We were aware that we must assist our economic subjects, economy, and entire regions in receiving the appropriate support during the transfer to the new system. After that they will have to find their own feet, because there is no other way, he added.

Replying to questions on prices from participants in the talks, Markovic said: If there had been any possibility of competition in infrastructural activities, there would have been no price freeze there either. He recalled that this is not our invention because nowhere in market economies is the price of electricity, for example, determined by the enterprises themselves, but rather this is done by the state.

What we have done now with our foreign currency transactions and foreign currency reserves definitely confirms that we have consolidated the dinar's convertibility. In 2 to 3 weeks we have destroyed the gray foreign currency market. Citizens no longer buy foreign currency, even though some of our so-called economists

predicted that the people would buy them all up and that within the space of 2 months we would be left without foreign currency.

With the end of the gray market in foreign currency, our citizens have assured themselves that they no longer need to buy foreign currency because it is more worthwhile for them to have dinars. At last we again have a currency with which we are not ashamed to go out into the world, said Markovic.

Now that we have succeeded in achieving this, we must say that we can quite certainly count on a stable exchange rate, and this means that no sector has a reason to expect a change in the exchange rate and plan in advance on this basis an increase in prices. To this should be added that until yesterday the interest rate was 50 to 60 percent per month, while now the discount interest rate is 1.77 percent.

Markovic went on to say that the FEC has not gone ahead with a complete price freeze precisely so as not to halt the process which it is intended to stimulate. Were all prices frozen, he believes, everyone would fight only to reach an even greater level of prices, as they are now fighting to obtain higher levels of pay. In other words they would not fight for the resolution of their own internal relations and reserves, and it is precisely this which is becoming a key issue.

The FEC is prepared to bear its own share of responsibility for its measures, but it has brought all economic and social subjects to a cleared space and they should all take on their share of responsibility. Each worker, official, and politician has his place in this, and all of them individually must take on their share of responsibility, Ante Markovic stressed.

After all, Markovic added, one can no longer go into a bank for one's pay because the bank does not provide loans for these purposes, one has to go to the market, as it is only in this way that money can be found for personal incomes. And to enter the market one has to have goods which are sought after and which sell well.

Of course, there can be no selling at high prices, in which are encorporated both high interest rates and a high exchange rate and a high growth in pay (though at the moment this does not exist), but the price has to be reduced, Markovic said. He illustrated this by the already noted price reductions of one or two products in various parts of our country.

Assembly Chamber Adopts Wage Law

LD2712101789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly tonight adopted the Law on Salaries by June 30, 1990, which is believed to be one of the key laws in the new package of measures of Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government economic recovery program.

According to the law, adopted by an overwhelming majority—114 votes for, 42 against and four abstentions, salaries in December 1989 and the first six months of 1990 will remain on the November 1989 level.

The draft of this law was not adopted at last week's session of the Federal Assembly, since delegates believed it "froze" salaries below the level of "social endurance", and their view was shared by the leadership of the Yugoslav trade unions.

The government came out with a new proposal at today's session. Under this proposal, salaries of around 70 percent of workers in Yugoslavia will be increased by 20 percent, in view of the forthcoming limitations.

Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zivko Pregl described the latest government proposal as selective, in favour of those branches which provide growth of the gross domestic product (such as industry, etc.) as well as growth of the earnings of workers who are the most threatened by the wage-freeze.

According to government calculations, the law will reduce the wages of one-third of around 6.5 million workers in Yugoslavia - those with the highest salaries. The wages of the socially worst off will be increased by 22 percent.

The law enables firms which mark a profit at the end of 1989 to distribute the surplus by issuing shares and bonds to workers which will fall due after June 1990. Until this date, the convertible dinar will be pegged to one of the most stable currencies—the deutsche mark.

The government tonight said it would, at the end of January 1990, examine the relationship between prices and wages, and if necessary update the law which has just been passed.

Korosec Speaks on LCY Congress

LD1401211590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 14 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 January (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will at the forthcoming 14th extraordinary congress be confronted with its biggest reform plan to date and will be taking an historical examination of its readiness and capability to be, in a pluralistic political ambient, the initiator of the democratic development of Yugoslav society. Yugoslavia is for the interests of all its peoples, who have by their free will come together in a common state in order to live in a better, more secure, and more stable way, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in talks with TANJUG journalists on the expectations of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress, as well as on the prospects of the proclaimed social and party reforms.

In Korosec's assessment, besides the new program orientation and the opening up of roads towards real reforms, two further issues are key ones for the Congress: the settling of relations in the Federation and relations within the LCY. It is necessary, he says, to settle these in a new way.

I believe that sobriety and common sense will prevail at the Congress because only reform-orientated programs can unite the LCY. I am also optimistic because of the fact that in the interim program—the declaration of the LCY which will be put forward for adoption by delegates—a very high degree of unity has been achieved, which also indicates readiness to attempt to overcome differences. From one day to the next, however, new issues appear which contain within them the risk of polarization at the forthcoming party congress. One of these, for example, is the question of which environment will provide the candidate for president of the LCY Central Committee.

Korosec believes that, despite a certain fear of "taking a step into the unknown", awareness is nevertheless strengthening of the inevitability of radical economical and political reforms, and the development of democratic socialism. We have nothing to be ashamed of because in the past we achieved great results, but in our aspirations towards democratic socialism we must be clear and state decisively what it is we are renouncing and on what we are building the future—on the individual and his rights and freedoms, and on the expansion of political freedoms.....

Referring to the fact that the 14th highest-level meeting of the LCY is being held at a time of great turmoil and of stormy and rapid changes in Yugoslav society, and especially in the world of socialism, Korosec observed that the Congress documents, apart from the declaration, have already become outdated. For example—he gave an illustration—it is a good thing that we have achieved unity on a document concerning the economic reforms, but there is a certain discrepancy between it and Ante Markovic's program, something which has an unfavorable impact when it comes to strengthening the forces of mobilization necessary for the implementation of the changes.

Korosec envisages that the Congress should otherwise provide principled political support to the Federal Government's program. Nevertheless the FEC [Federal Executive Council] and the SFRY Assembly are responsible for instruments and measures, and especially for this program's results, and the Congress will not go into this.

The document on the LCY's transformation also envisages major changes, Korosec went on, "but we cannot close our eyes to the processes in the Eastern European countries." For the LC [League of Communists], in fact, this document is good but "too small, so a step forward should be taken." This "step forward" is the declaration of the LCY upon which, in Korosec's assessment, unity can be achieved at the Congress. With the elaboration of the draft declaration, he says, we have succeeded in keeping abreast of the great changes in the entire communist movement.

It is necessary, the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium adds, to achieve unity in action on the question of Kosovo as well. We cannot go to the Congress without this, either.

The question of unity indeed, Korosec believes, forms part of several key questions. It seems to me, however, he specified, that when discussing unity we are increasingly turning to the past instead of being orientated towards the future. The question is in fact on what and how unity is achieved and what the order of moves should be. It is utopian to think that unity in the LCY can be achieved in advance, by disciplinary measures. We must and can achieve unity, but it is only possible on this party program and statute.

Speaking about the stance of the Slovene LC Congress that the LCY should be transformed into "a federation of alliances," Korosec pointed out that the Slovene LC Central Committee is the competent authority to interpret it, but he also noted that today relations within the LCY set out in written documents are one thing, while the real situation is quite a different matter. One should start from real relations and the key question here is democratic centralism, on the suitability of which opinions are divided. There are, in fact, assessments that this principle has become outmoded.

This requires that a stand be taken in a democratic debate on the LCY's organization which will correspond to the real state of relations and the times in which we live.

Korosec sees a possible solution in minimal changes being made to the statute of the LCY at the Congress in the initial phase, and in it being established that there are several questions on which there is no out-voting but rather decisions are adopted through negotiations—in other words consensus. These are, for example, the question of the developmental conception of society, the elaboration of a new program and statute..... When this work is subsequently approached after the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress, a fundamental and complete debate on all the controversial issues will be opened, something which at the next party congress—which could be held in 2 years time—could lead to program unity in the LCY.

Korosec otherwise believes that exacerbation of conflict over the stance of the Slovene LC Congress on the 30th LCY Central Committee Plenum, scheduled for 17 January, would represent a big burden for the 14th extraordinary congress. From time to time Korosec says, individual issues "are dramatized, and here all the relevant consquences are not examined". If this is also repeated this time, "the congress would be seriously threatened", he assessed.

Stefan Korosec in the continuation of the discussion included party training among the LC's main tasks, so that "it maintains power in pluralistic political conditions". This must be done, he said, not in 5 years but from 8-12 April, when elections to the Assembly will be held. The question is how to enter the elections in competition with other legal political subjects, how to win, and how to win over not only Communists but also all others to the democratic socialism which we advocate.

If we win in the elections, this would then be a completely new experience for the entire socialist and communist movement. And, if per chance we were to lose, we would probably enter into a coalition with the SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People]. For the time being, however, on the basis of research and some evaluations, I do not see that the LCY could be defeated in the elections by some other party, Korosec stressed, noting however the existence "of an obviously anticommunist mood in all parts of Yugoslavia."

At the moment, all the newly formed parties in the country, he said, build their political prestige on criticism of the work of the LCY and on its weaknesses and responsibility for the present situation. In many respects they are right. However, there is still not a single party which has come forward with a complete program for all people and for all Yugoslavs.

At the same time it is also important to stress the significance of the adoption of legal regulations making the formation of fascist-style organizations impossible.

Korosec asked: Do you think that, regardless of everything, in the conditions of political pluralism "we will have discussions in this way within the party as we are having today"? There will not be these confrontations because new conditions will require different internal party behavior. We cannot overcome two fronts—internal confrontation and confrontation with the opposition. We do not have this strength.

It must be known, Korosec went on, that every social project which is not supported by a large majority in society will be rapidly destroyed. Nothing can be done any longer by force, either in the economy or in politics. A model of socialism which is built and maintained on elements of force can no longer live, and this is demonstrated by the dramatic events in socialist countries.

True, it is a fact that the "new socialism" in our country has not yet been theoretically and scientifically defined. At the moment work is still going on on political initiatives, the purposes of which is mobilization around the idea of democratic socialism, contained in the declaration prepared for the Congress. The whole of the communist movement is, however, being shifted towards the center, though this space is already occupied. We are only just entering into program discussions and we will see how much of this center ground will remain for the LCY, because the SAWP, with its program vision is also here. These are questions which we must answer in the new LCY program.

Political pluralism, according to Korosec, has imposed questions of the justification of the existence of LCY organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army and in state organs. As regards the LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, for the time being, he said, no changes are envisaged. The issue has, nevertheless, been broached, but we still have no reply. One will probably be obtained after the congress, in the debates on the new program and statute of the LCY. As regards state organs, party organizations will in the future probably be abolished.

Fear of the multiparty system is, otherwise, still present, Korosec says, because consciousness of the monopoly position of the LC over the truth, ideas, and direction of social development, is deeply rooted. Entry into pluralistic space, on the contrary, means that there will no longer be eternal truths; instead competition, the strengthening of democratic relations, and the penetration of fresh ideas will come about.

One cannot live on slogans. We should resolve the concrete questions and problems of the society in which we live, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, concluded.

SAWPY Discusses Multiparty System

LD0401201590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—We should immediately, without waiting for the adoption of a new Constitution, propose amendments which would guarantee all political organizations' equality, end the League of Communists' [LC] leading role, and alter the Socialist Alliance's position. At a joint session of secretariats from the two sections of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference—for the development of the Socialist Alliance and the political system—it was said that freedom of political association is the basic prerequisite for realizing the SAWPY Federal Conference's stands on political pluralism.

In a rare "unanimous" discussion, support was given to the most important stands in the introductory remarks of Marjan Kotar, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, who stated that citizens are not associating due to a semblance of democracy, but in order to secure their own interests. He noted that it is not rare for the registration of new associations and alliances to be prevented in certain environments.

Kotar considers that by means of constitutional amendments work should be permitted by all political organizations which do not advocate the violent destruction of the constitutionally established order of the country or the incitement of national, racial, or other hatred. The

privileged position of the Socialist Alliance in the electoral system and cadre policy should also be abolished.

Kotar also noted several issues which should be regulated by republican or federal law on political association. These are the freedom and voluntarism of political organization, the obligatory registration of new parties, and the method of financing social organizations.

Kotar's call for the transformation of the Socialist Alliance into an independent party with individual membership (which does not exclude the possibility of collective activity), was supported by almost all the participants in the debate. In the opinion of Dr Jovan Marjanovic, the Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] has survived. However, it is hard to talk about its reform, not only because the front form of organization has proved unsuccessful, but also because a number of autonomous political organizations have already emerged which want competition instead of hierarchy, outside of any "framework."

Frightening the people with a multiparty system is pointless, Dr Marjanovic stressed. Our society should not be deprived of what is familiar to all contemporary communities. It should simply be recognized that certain historical phases cannot be bypassed, he concluded.

Noting that we have always had a false attitude toward political pluralism and that, as a result, we were constantly "changing things so that nothing changed," Ljubisa Zaric said that a modern society does not recognize any solution other than a multiparty system. That is why we should rid ourselves of our fear of it. Zaric is convinced that it is necessary to put an end to the leading role of the LC, or the SAWP as an extension of it, that the delegate system should be replaced with a parliamentary system, and that the right to political association should be guaranteed by the Constitution.

This naturally opens up the question of the SAWP's front role. Noting that it does not function in any case, and since the trade unions have announced their autonomy and the youth are gradually turning their backs on the Socialist Alliance, Zaric added that by means of individual membership, the SAWP has a chance of becoming an organization with a Yugoslav option.

Vojko Volk affirmed that most of the options put forward today have already been realized in Slovenia. Not only have the LC and SAWP been deleted from the Constitution, but the freedom of political association is also envisaged which implies that these two organizations have the same position as all others in the political arena. Volk said that the SAWP could be maintained at the Yugoslav level as some kind of coordination body, if the future course of events proves the need for such a form of activity.

Dusan Vasic considered that the Socialist Alliance's stances are already superfluous and that the possibility of the SAWPY's collapse should be prevented by putting forward radical program changes at the forthcoming electoral conference of the SAWPY federal conference. Agreeing with this, Zelkjo Mazar suggested that the creation of new parties, which would be independent and have their own membership, should be started as soon as possible. However, instead of having a coordinating role, he considered that the federal SAWP should be "firmly integrated."

Marjan Kotar noted at the beginning of the session that the stances expressed during the discussion are expected to serve as a starting point for the reform of the SAWP. Considering that the electoral conference of the SAWPY federal conference has been convened for the middle of next month and that the commission for the reform of the Socialist Alliance has not met for almost a year, it remains to be seen to what extent today's proposals prove usable at all.

Work of Sava Society Banned

LD1401035490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 13 Jan 90

[Summary] Ruma, 13 Jan (TANJUG)—A statement from the Intermunicipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs for Ruma, Irig, Indjija, Pecinci, and Stara Pazova, dated 12 January, bans the work of the Sava Society, which is based in Nova Pazova, and orders the deletion of this society from the register of social organizations.

The statement says that contrary to the aims of the society's statute, at a meeting on 6 January members of the society, with the general approval of those present, put forward views negating the existence of the Macedonian state and nation, and of the Montenegrin and Muslim nations, advocated the creation of a Serbian state within its ethnic borders, and called for Yugoslavia to be organized as a confederation of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The statement says that it was therefore concluded that the Sava Society is abusing the constitutionally guaranteed freedom of association by inciting national hatred and intolerance and advocating the destruction of the foundations of the constitutionally established socialist, self-managing, and democratic system.

Democratic Initiative Criticizes LC

AU1312155789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative Criticizes League of Communists"]

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Nov—The Belgrade Executive Committee of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] has criticized the League of Communists for "brazen attempts to draw all this country's peoples into its internal quarrels and into the struggle for power of individual fractions by stoking interethnic hatred and hostility."

The occasion for the AYDI's "public statement" was the legal proceedings taken against its member Rade Radovanovic, who on 2 November, in the name of the association, led a debating club on the subject "for and against representative elections in Serbia." The reason for the legal proceedings was that the AYDI is not formally registered as a social organization.

The statement recalls that Radovanovic led debates in the name of the AYDI both before and after this date, but that no legal proceedings of any kind were taken against him. The AYDI considered that the reason for proceedings being taken only over the debate on 2 November really lay in the topic of the elections. After publishing the AYDI's statement, "Voting Does Not Necessarily Mean Choice," BORBA, too, suffered "bitter attacks from the secretary of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Committee."

The Belgrade AYDI Committee stated that it will stand by its critical attitude toward the elections in Yugoslavia as long as no law is introduced guaranteeing the government's democratic legitimacy, above all through free elections for what is called a constituent assembly.

Democratic Movements Meet in Belgrade

AU2212074489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] A debate at the so-called Roundtable for the Coordination of the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative ended in Belgrade ½ hour ago. Here is a report by Kosta Krajincanic:

This meeting of at most 100 young people was held in the small hall No 6 of the Belgrade Law Faculty and was an opportunity for the representatives of the existing or announced political parties, associations, and movements to present their programs. One could hear the views of the Association for the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, the Democratic Party, which is being formed, the Social Democratic Party, the Helsinki Human Rights Committee, the Movement for Democratic Renewal, the Serbian Philosophers' Society, and others.

Apart from sharp differences in their concepts, concerning above all the use of power in the country, the joint characteristics of this entire Yugoslav alternative movement is stressed as a support to the democratization of public life in Yugoslavia and human rights and freedoms.

In fact, they all demand the same thing: Liberalization, the right to a different political opinion, the chance to associate on the basis of political programs, but, according to what has been heard, also a share in managing society. The point of this roundtable, as was explained, was the mutual acquaintance of various and different political initiatives, primarily democratic ones, and their coordination.

The next meeting of this type will be held in Sarajevo.

Democratic Forum Program Declaration Reported

LD2612105489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—In the conviction that the revival of political democracy, social justice, and national tolerance is today the basic need of our country, we propose the initiative for founding a Democratic Forum, the program declaration of this organization states. A group of intellectuals from Belgrade and Novi Sad set in motion the initiative to found this organization.

The initiators stress that achievement of these ideals is possible through a complete freedom of public speech and of the press, free association in political parties and alliances, and through elected and replaceable authorities.

The Democratic Forum will not act as a political party, the program declaration states, but it will openly advocate its ideas in public and political life, and, if it assesses this as appropriate, it will support certain candidates and propose its own candidates at free elections.

Opposition Group To Field Joint Candidates

LD0401121690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0936 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—According to its latest public statement, Demos, the Slovene united opposition, now comprises five political parties which plan to put forward joint candidates for delegates in municipalities and for leading offices in both the republic and the federation in the spring elections. However, for delegates in the Slovene Assembly's sociopolitical chamber each opposition party will put forward a list of its own candidates. Demos is headed by a Presidium consisting of two representatives from each party (Democrats, Social Democrats, Christian Democrats, Slovene Peasant Union, and the Greens). It operates on the principle of consensus. At present its operative leader is Dr Joze Pucnik.

Demos has announced a political meeting in the great hall of the Cankar Club in Ljubljana to present its program and main candidates for the April elections. The candidates' names will, however, be announced as early as 9 January when the name of the opposition's candidate for the office of president of the Presidency of Slovenia will also be announced.

Slovene Supreme Court LC Body Disbands

LD0401120490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—At their 27 December 1989 session, members of the basic League of Communists [LC] organization of the Slovene Supreme Court decided to disband their organization. According to todays Ljubljana DNEVNIK, the members of the

basic LC organization of the Supreme Court of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia came to the conclusion that in the light of the law on political association and of current changes in society, and in view of the need for independent judiciary, an equal status for political parties and the decision to abandon the cell-organization-based system in the LC, there are no longer any reasons for prolonging the existence of their basic LC organization. In their opinion, the first to be disbanded should be basic LC organizations in courts, regardless of the fact that appropriate laws are not yet in force. At the same time they called on the LC Municipal Committee to inform individual members about the possibilities for integration on a "territorial, interest, and other basis, and asked the Municipal Committee to adopt a statutory conclusion disbanding basic LC organizations in courts."

Slovene Chamber Calls for Prosecution of Serbs

AU0401154490 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] The Chamber of Economy of Slovenia sent a proposal to the public prosecutor of Slovenia today to the effect that he should initiate criminal proceedings against Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, and Mihajlo Milojevic, president of the Chamber of Economy of Serbia, because of the economic blockade and the violation of Article 161 of the Criminal Code of Yugoslavia.

According to Rado Bohinc, vice president of the Slovene Chamber of Economy, by calling a blockade, Radmila Andjelkovic and Mihajlo Milojevic committed a crime in the eyes of the law that is in force.

BORBA Denies Having Organized Protest

AU1601133890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "A New Imputation to BORBA"]

[Text] In their reports on the meeting held in front of the POLITIKA building on Saturday, dailies POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES have committed the crudest violation of the journalistic profession's principles—they imputed that BORBA organized this rally. POLITIKA has repeated this claim as many as three times and EKSPRES considered it sufficient to include it in the first paragraph of its report. Other Yugoslav newspapers and TANJUG have reported in a way appropriate to objective reporting—they said that the organizer was the Yugoslav Alliance (an alternative political organization registered in Ljubljana).

Untrue and invented claims by these two Belgrade dailies are only a continuation of an organized campaign against BORBA which they launched together recently. Because of such biased articles, Manojlo Vukotic, chief and responsible editor of BORBA, sent a letter today to Dr Zivorad Minovic, director and chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA, and Slobodan Jovanovic, chief and responsible editor of POLITIKA EKSPRES.

The letter to POLITIKA Director Dr Minovic reads as follows:

In the two reports on the meeting held in front of the POLITIKA building which are carried in its issue today (7 January), your newspaper POLITIKA says three times that BORBA organized and initiated the meeting. Despite the fact that you knew even before the meeting that BORBA had nothing to do with the meeting and that it has no connections with any alternative alliance, group, movement, or a party, your reporters imputed the role of coorganizer to BORBA in an unprofessional and tendentious way.

Colleague Minovic, although our editorial concepts and our views on some events differ, it is really unacceptable for POLITIKA, a newspaper with a rich tradition, to issue such crude untruths. BORBA has in no way, by no gesture, either mentioned or been involved in organizing the meeting held in front of your work organization.

Pressures against BORBA launched from your house recently, which range from imputations of being an anti-Serbian newspaper to those of organizing meetings, do not show either political maturity or professional journalistic truthfulness and ethics. All in all, such a "media war" operates against the reputation of our houses and against our interest to fight for a united Yugoslavia and strong Serbia as the only guarantee of a common stability.

I appeal to you to replace this invented and unnecessary conflict with open joint talks about the role newspapers play in the struggle for spreading democracy, truth, and freedom of word. I hope that in this way we would free ourselves more easily and quickly from prejudices, preoccupations, passions, and similar manners, all in the interest of protecting the dignity and originality of both our newspapers and our profession in general.

BORBA Director Rakas Resigns

LD1701020190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0029 GMT 17 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 16 (TANJUG)—Milan Rakas, director of one of the rare newspapers in the country which maintains a Yugoslav orientation—the Belgrade daily BORBA, today handed in an irrevocable resignation as director of the newspaper, infuriated by increasingly frequest accusations made by certain political figures who term BORBA an "anti-Serbian" newspaper.

Rakas said he did not wish to take part in "the disintegration of yet another Yugoslav institution."

Rakas resigned at today's meeting of the Socialist Alliance, the founder of the newspaper, reproaching the presidency of the socio-political organization that did

not publically try to deny the unargumented attacks on BORBA made by certain political figures over the past two years.

Rakas pointed out that the attacks are intensifying and cited as an example the latest accusation about BORBA's alleged role in the organization of the recent rally against the Belgrade daily POLITIKA, which maintains a Serbian orientation.

Rakas said that he has been proving over the past two years that BORBA is not and cannot be an anti-Serbian newspaper, nor a daily which is against any other Yugoslav nation, as it maintains a Yugoslav orientation.

The Yugoslav public news media has over the past few years been very divided. It can even be said that a veritable media war is flaring up as each news media upholds the policy of "its own" republican leadership, while the leaderships themselves are "at odds" with each other over many important political and economic issues.

'Croatian Democratic Community' Proclamation

AU1412144489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 89 p 14

[Zoran Krzelj report: "Destiny in Their Own Hands"]

[Text] Split, 2 Dec—The leaflet, "Proclamation to the Citizens and Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and All the People of Croatia" of the so-called "Croatian Democratic Community" [CDC], which the citizens of Split could obtain on the esplanade this morning starts as follows: "A most crucial and decisive moment has arrived. The Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] has replied to the determined and dignified behavior of the Slovene people and the Slovene sociopolitical leadership by breaking all ties between Serbia and Slovenia. This decision in fact means the destruction of the SFRY of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and not only acquiesces to, but even exerts pressure to encourage, Slovenia's secession in an unconstitutional way from the SFRY."

The leaflet, signed by Franje Tudjman, president of the CDC, and other officers of the non-legal organization (Dalibor Brozovic, Vladimir Seks, Kresimir Belanovic, and others) states that the proclamation is issued within the context of the CDC's declared program and on the basis of the right of the Croatian people to self-determination, including secession, which is guaranteed to all peoples by the UN Charter and the existing Constitution.

"A time of particular national decision has arrived. We cannot allow Croatia's fate to be decided by others or by unqualified people; let us definitively take it into our own hands," the CDC states in its leaflet printed on Republic Day in Zagreb, in response to the Serbian SAWP decision, about which it says that, with regard to the declared Greater Serbian ambitions, it is a sign of particular peril to the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the entire Croatian people from Greater Serbian expansionism, which has already been distributing abroad maps of Greater Serbia including three-fourths of Croatian territory, up to a common border of Serbia with Slovenia.

The present Croatian leadership, the proclamation states, shows a lack of resourcefulness in its present bureaucratic and dogmatic work which could be fatal for the future of Croatia and the Croatian people. We have demands in these fateful historical circumstances, the CDC states, and then makes four collective demands in which, among other things, it asks for "the immediate creation of a democratic coalition government in Croatia, which will be an expression of the trust and authentic will of the Croatian people and all strata of the Serbian and other populations in Croatia." Further, "to counter the publicly displayed plans for the creation of Greater Serbia, either within or outside the SFRY, at the expense of the Croatian and other non-Serbian people," the CDC stresses a claim for "the territorial integrity of the Croatian nation within its historical and natural borders."

The proclamation also demands "the abolition of the one-party monopoly, and refuses to accept any other kind of political monopoly," also demanding "the immediate legalization of a multiparty democratic parliamentary system, the introduction of universal, secret, and direct elections to the assembly, legally and politically guaranteed unhindered entry to and exit from the homeland for all Croatian emigrants, without regard to their political beliefs and allegiances, the release of all political prisoners, and the suspension of all political trials and persecutions." The main task of the new democratic Croatian government "must be a consensual settlement of relations with all our neighbors, and steps to attach Croatia to the European community."

Alternative Groups at Croatian Assembly Meeting

LD1812230389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2049 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 18 (TANJUG)—Delegates of seven alternative political organizations from the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia attended today for the first time a session of the republican parliament's committee for the socio-political system.

The committee, which was reviewing the proposed changes to the law on social organizations and citizens' associations, wanted to hear what the alternative groups have to say on the matter.

The delegates of the alternative groups urged the earliest possible adoption of the law and the setting up of a round table in Croatian parliament for the purpose of introducing political pluralism. All organizations intending to run in parliamentary elections next year would participate in the round table on an equal footing.

The delegates also pointed to the need for equal access to the media during the election campaign.

The leadership of the Croatian Social Democratic Party, founded last Saturday, announced the party's participation in the elections at a press conference in Zagreb today.

The party will focus on the poorest sectons of the population and legislation.

One of the first demands which the party put forward to Croatian parliament concerned the abolition of the leading role of the League of Communists.

Croatian Social Democrats also urge autonomy of the press and television.

The steering committee of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians today filed registration documents with the Socialist Alliance organization of Vojvodina.

Hungarians account for 19 per cent of the ethnically heterogeneous population of the province.

The community's aim is to express and protect the collective interests of Hungarians living in Vojvodina, the committee said.

It also said that the community would urge social and economic changes in the country, a transformation from the party to a legal state, a market economy, the introduction of the capital, goods and labour markets and political democracy, including a multi-party system.

Croatian LC Dec Plenum Session

LD2312233689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—The Croatian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee today considered, at its first working plenary session, immediate tasks in the implementation of the orientations and decisions of the 11th Congress of the Croatian LC. Submitting an introductory report at this meeting, Ivica Racan, president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, recalled that in the preparations for this meeting several talks had been held including those with the president of the municipal and intermunicipal LC committees, as well as an exchange of views with prominent scientific workers. Ivica Racan stressed that in these talks support was expressed for the course and results of the 11th Congress of the Croatian LC, both between the membership of the LC and beyond in society.

Racan then stressed that four groups of tasks which have arisen out of Congress orientations and relate above all to the economic and political reforms and the reform of the LC, as well as to the elaboration of a new constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and of the SFRY, are directly facing the Croatian LC Central Committee.

Analyzing tasks in the economic reform, Racan stressed that the latest measures of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] finally offer a complete and consistent Yugoslav program for emergence from the economic crisis. We can assess that this program is in line with the orientations of the LC and this is why it has and must have the Croatian LC's support Racan stressed.

Afterwards he assessed that there could be neither acceptance nor understanding of the negative attitudes toward these reform measures which are being expressed, above all, from positions of narrow assessments as to what is lost by these measures.

In this respect Croatia cannot merely give support to the FEC, but must change itself in a radically reform-minded and democratic way, and show that we can develop ourselves more rapidly in economic terms precisely in line with these orientations.

Analyzing Congress orientations concerning the elections, Ivica Racan said that the LC, by taking part in the elections, is not bringing the party into question. We want to take part in the elections, and we want also to win with our program and what we have to offer, if we receive the citizens' confidence, Racan stressed.

The president of the Croatian LC Central Committee then stressed that delegations of the Croatian LC in assemblies will advocate that the necessary legal conditions for such elections be created as soon as possible. Hence, in his words, if the Croatian LC Central Committee agrees with this, the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee will launch an initiative for there to be a review, through the delegation of the Croatian LC in the sociopolitical chamber of the Assembly, of specific provisions of this electoral law as a matter of urgency, so that the elections themselves might not be prolonged. Also, in connection with the passing of a law on the association of citizens, there will be maximum advocacy of Congress stances on political pluralism and the multiparty system. [passage omitted]

Racan, speaking at the end about preparations for the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], stressed that the overall reform-orientated democratic course advocated by Croatian Communists relates also to the entire LCY. He warned that if at the 14th Congress of the LCY the strategic orientations of the Croatian LC are to be negated by outbidding, then we are not authorized as delegates to accept this. In this case the complete membership of the Croatian LC must make a decision on this, Racan pointed out.

After the introductory report by Ivica Racan, the discussion focused on two questions: what are the main points of the political program which the LC ought to present to the public in terms of the prospects for free elections, and what is necessary to change in the method and organization of the LC's work, for the purpose of radically reforming it? In Zdravko Tomac's opinion, the basic thing is that the LC of Croatia should demonstrate in practice its firm orientation for a law-governed state.

Tomac also stressed that the Croatian LC, in its program orientation, should clearly underline that it is a question of a socialist orientation which accepts all the democratic achievements of bourgeois society, but at the same time be committed to socialism as an economic and political democracy. Here, Tomac believes, the Croatian LC commitment to self-management should be stressed. Tomac also believes that the Croatian LC should initiate a debate about how a political solution to the problems in Kosovo might be arrived at because, he said, this problem cannot be resolved by a policy of repression.

Anti Ivic stressed that the Congress orientations of the Croatian LC toward democratic socialism and political pluralism of the multiparty type are not some turnabout but are the maturing of Croatian LC policy. [passage omitted]

Lordan Zafranovic advocated a new program of the party which will free itself from the burden of the past, but which will attract and be the rallying point for a large number of intellectuals.

Dusko Plecas stressed that he has been encouraged by the fact that neither at the Croatian LC congress nor later, has the word differentiation been used. This means, he believes, that the Congress has made a major step forward toward achieving the reforms, but also that there should be further avoidance of the easy making of assessments about people and organizations.

Branko Caratan drew attention to the fact that the LC has still not transformed itself and that it is still a party in power. He advocated that the proposal to postpone the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY, which should be a watershed between the old and the new party line, continue to be promoted. Caratan believes that in the LCY there are at least two currents—one which is for radical reforms and another which has no intention of accepting all the changes. It is only now that a new concept of socialism should be campaigned for, though differences are not unbridgeable, Caratan believes. Unless there are moves toward radical reforms, we risk peace in this country, too, Branko Caratan said at the end.

Milutin Baltic proposed that in the future all sessions of the LC, from basic organizations to the highest leadership, be held outside work time.

The conclusions of today's plenum were summed up by Racan into a few operative tasks. The Presidium will, on the basis of today's debate and other working sessions, which have been held or are being proposed, propose to the Central Committee, at the beginning of January, concrete proposals for guidelines for the action and organization of work in the implementation of the Congress stances. On these bases the Presidium will also prepare a draft electoral program for the forthcoming elections, and also elaborate a media presentation of congress documents.

Croatian LC CC Election Proposal

LD2612135689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, 25 December (TANJUG)—In keeping with the orientations of the 11th Congress of the Croatian League of Communists [LC] for political pluralism and a multiparty system, the Croatian LC is presenting to citizens of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia and the Croatian Assembly an initiative, the aim of which is for the very next elections—so that they might be truly free and democratic—to be held in conditions that will ensure full respect for the real political will of working people and citizens of the SR of Croatia. The content of this initiative was publicized today by the Croatian LC Central Committee [CC] Presidium.

The Croatian LC, as a democratic political party, it is stressed here, sees itself, and this is how it will also behave, in all phases of the electoral process—the proposal and establishment of candidates, and in the elections themselves—as one of the equal political organizations (associations, alliances and parties, etc) which in a free race, respecting in advance the commonly established rules of the game, campaigns for votes.

All the solutions to the electoral law, as well as the law on political organization, it is stressed, must start from the citizens' constitutional right to free association, which also encompasses party-political association and the achievements of the electoral systems of sovereign democratic states. Electoral law should fully ensure the legal conditions for the real equality of all the political organizations which take part in the elections.

The recently adopted law on the election and the recall of committee members and representatives is a step forward in the democratization of elections. However, in view of the fact that the procedure for changing the law began earlier, some adopted solutions are not fully appropriate for political pluralism of the multiparty type.

We advocate, says the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium's text publicized today, that in electoral law—through the proposal and the establishment of candidates and through the establishment of regulations governing methods of election, and by designating constituencies of the sociopolitical chamber, which as an institution is completely outmoded, which certainly will no longer be accepted in the new constitutions, and which cannot be abolished because of the explicit provisions of the SFRY Constitution—we advocate that there be a Citizens' Chamber on a real electoral basis, which would be elected in accordance with the principle of one man one vote. To this end, there would be elections to the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Croatian Assembly in 80 constituencies—the same number as there are members of this chamber—in accordance with the number of inhabitants, and in each constituency one representative would be elected. On the basis of the same kind of

principle, there would also be elections to the Sociopolitical Chambers of the municipal assemblies.

The Simple and Democratic Nomination Procedure

An election law will be aimed at enabling candidates for delegates and representatives in all chambers of all assemblies in the republic and in the Sociopolitical Chamber, too, to be nominated and endorsed through a single procedure in two equal ways:

1. From among a group of citizens and for the chamber of associated labor from among a group of workers. An election unit can put forward as candidates all those proposed by a group of 100 people to represent them in the chamber of the municipal assembly, and those proposed by 2,000 citizens or workers to represent them in the assembly chambers.

2. At meetings of citizens and meetings of workers for representatives in the chambers of associated labor. An election unit can put forward as candidates all those proposed or given support in a secret ballot by at least five percent of those present at those meetings. In addition, the size of the quorum will have to be decided upon as a condition for the meeting to become the venue for proposing candidates.

Changing Election Law

With the aim of enabling citizens, in this or any other appropriate way indicated during the debate, to freely express their political will and of ensuring, at the same time, that the nominating procedure, that vital and most decisive stage in an election, is as democratic as possible, the Croat LC Central Committee will instruct delegates in the Croat Assembly's Sociopolitical Chamber to initiate a procedure for changing the law on electing and recalling delegates and representatives. If it is decided that to carry out these changes, it is necessary to alter relevant provisions in the constitution of the SR of Croatia, let these alterations be made. It is our view that all legal and constitutional changes of importance for regulating the legal aspect of elections can be carried out within the period of time to make it possible to organize and hold election in the spring of 1990.

A Roundtable of All Political Oraganizations Planning To Take Part in the Elections

By submitting this proposal to all citizens and, in particular, to the Assembly of the SR of Croatia for consideration, we call on all political organizations in the republic (socio-political organizations and all existing political associations, alliances and parties, etc) to join us in a roundtable to consider not just this initiative but also to try, as equal participants, to formulate common rules of the game and political conduct during the entire preelection period, the Presidium of Croal LC Central Committee stresses in conclusion.

Croat Democratic Community Founded in Split

LD0601231390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1724 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Split, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—Opening the constitutive assembly of the Croat Democratic Community [CDC] in the conference hall of the Marjan Hotel in Split today in the presence of 1,200 delegates and guests, Dr Zvonimir Markovic said that the CDC was not in the business of nominating leaders, rulers, generals, or snipers. Its goal is personal freedom, healthy family life, and a free Croat nation of European conduct and life.

Dr Franjo Tudjman stressed that for a long time Croatia had not had an opportunity to rally together spontaneously as it had in Split around the CDC program. This program, he said, instills a hope in democratic transformation and shows that all the lies about the CDC can neither thwart nor stifle the program ofered by the CDC.

We are not satisfied with Croatia as it is, but it is our reality that prevents a genocide by the Chetniks [royalist anti-Nazi resistance movement during World War II, rivaling Tito-led partisans] and which will help us to continue defending Croat interests, Tudjaman said. We are being attacked for alleged national and nationalist exclusiveness. Attempts to deny and slander the CDC continue, and many have been using the CDC to reiterate their Yugoslav inclinations. Our message to these people is that their time is up.

With reference to accusations that the CDC has been issuing a call to arms, Tudjman said that Stipe Suvar and others had the duty to explain why 100,000 Croats had emigrated from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Calls for the return of the statue of Banjelacica are not just a cultural act, but a sign of a break with previous Croat policy and politicians. Tudjman sees the solution for Yugoslavia as being within the framework of a confederal system. Let Serbia be a kingdom; we for our part, will be a republic. The self-confessed Croat politicians who are still obsessed with a Yugoslav synthesis soon will have their comeuppance.

Vladimir Seks began his long statement by referrring to the history of strong tendencies toward autonomy which, according to him, had always been against the interests of the Croat nation and were used as a means of breaking up Croatia. Today these are being used by the champions of the official policy of the Serbian Socialist Republic to glorify and revive old theories about Dalmatia as an autonomous province. Explaining the purpose of Serbia's present attitude, not just toward Dalmatia but toward other parts of Croatia, too, Seks said that for the Croat people in Dalmatia the feeling of being Croat had never clashed with the feeling of being Dalmatian.

According to Seks, the CDC is being set up in response to attempts to create "Serboslavia"; it denounces violence and is intent on preventing a civil war or the creation of Lebanon or Romania on this territory. Yugoslavia, as it is at the moment, is of no use to anyone. We can no

longer lie to each other or allow slander to continue without the right to reply. They certainly will have their reply now.

In addition, Seks said that Stipe Suvar was a chemeleon, a loyal follower of Machiavelli, who is prepared to pay any price to remain in power. He licked Milosevic's boots and is directly responsible for the latter's rise to power and its consequences. Stipe Suvar must publicly apologize to the Croat people for all the suffering he has inflicted on them and must disappear from the Croat political scene. This was Seks' message for Suvar. This was received with tumultous applause and chanting from those present. In Seks' view, the new Croat Assembly also must apologize to the Croat people for everything that had happened since 1971, in particular.

Having noted that in the last 120 years Croats had made the greatest sacrifices to gain freedom and that Vienna, Budapest, and Belgrade were built with the sweat and tears of the Croat people, Sime Djodan said that Yugoslavia had never been a federation since 1945. He cited a number of economic indicators as evidence that Croatia was permanently exploited and that the money for the Split-Zegeb highway was used to build the Belgrade-Bar railroad and that this was all Vladimir Bakaric's doing.

Slobodan Milosevilc violated the Constitution when he annexed Vojvodina and Kosovo, Djodan said, adding that never in its history had the Serbian state expanded beyond the Sava, Danube, and Drina Rivers. Serbs cannot be free if their leaders suppress other nations. I believe that when all that is happening today is clarified, there will be some sensible Serbs with whom we will be able to talk and decide what is ours and what is theirs. We do not want what is theirs and will never give up what is ours, Djodan said. Like the majority of the speakers at today's constitutive assembly of the Split branch for the CDC, Djodan's speech was received with tumultous applause and chanting.

Croat Commission Endorses Constitution Change

LD0801225490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 8 Jan (TANJUG)—The Croat Assembly's Commission for Constitutional Issues today endorsed an initiative by the republic's Presidency to change the Constitution of the Croatian Socialist Republic in line with the commitment to a multiparty system and to guarantee genuine equality to all citizens and political organizations in the coming elections.

The proposed changes will be considered by the Croat Assembly at a session on 11 January when it is expected to adopt proposed amendments and open up a public debate on the changes to serve as a foundation for a new electoral law and the law on political organizations as prerequisites for holding planned spring elections and for installing new assemblies by 9 May. [passage omitted]

Croat SAWP Elects President

LD0901222990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2007 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—The Republican conference of the Croat Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] today elected Zaljko Mazar, born in 1951, its president for the next 2-year term of office. It also elected Marinko Panic as secretary of the Republican Conference of the Croat SAWP.

Croat Statutory Commission Chairman Elected

LD1101182790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo Croatian 1433 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Summary] Zagreb, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—Members of the Croat League of Communists Statutory Commission today elected by a majority of votes and by secret ballot Sonja Kostic as the chairman of the commission.

Montenegrin Party Presidium Opposes Mass Rally

AU0801192790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro did not support the idea of a mass rally being held in Titograd on 10 January, in the same place where the famous January events took place last year, because the process of reforms in the republican political and economic systems is currently taking place, and the holding of such a meeting could result in undesirable social consequences.

Bulatovic Declines Invitation To Speak at Rally

AU1001082090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, and Dr Ljubisa Stankovic, member of the Montenegrin Presidency, will not speak at the great people's meeting announced by the still unidentified organizing committee to mark the anniversary of democratic changes in the republic.

Momir Bulatovic said that he cannot accept the invitation to speak, because he does not know what the meeting is trying to achieve. Ljubisa Stankovic also stated that he cannot speak at the meeting because he does not know the organizers nor the purpose of the meeting.

Madjaraj Elected to Kosovo LC Presidium

LD0601213590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Summary] Pristina, 6 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium, which was chaired by

Rahman Morina, Dr Binak Madjaraj was elected executive secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

Titova Mitrovica LC Meets 27 Dec

LD2712214189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Titova Mitrovica, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—Although the outmoded and mistaken policy has been exposed, denounced and abandoned and the former leadership's vacillations and its tactical maneuvering with nationalists condemned, some of the old policy's protagonists are yet to be exposed and punished. This was said today at a session of the Municipal Committee of Titova Mitrovica League of Communists [LC]. [passage omitted]

It was said at the session today that in Stari Trg mine 61 workers have this year been dismissed from their jobs for failing to observe their work duties and causing great material damage by staying down in the pit in October this year. Disciplinary proceedings which may lead to dismissal from work are underway against another 110 other workers. Out of the 3,084-strong workforce, 2,183 or 70 per cent have been allowed back to work. [passage omitted]

Ecological Society Established in Mostar

AU3012104489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Ecological Movement"]

[Text] Mostar—An ecological society, a movement for healthy human environment, was established in Mostar yesterday on the principle of citizens' associations. An appeal was sent at the founding session to the workers, citizens, and voters of Mostar to take care of their environment every day, to control responsible services, and, when electing candidates to all responsible posts, to take into consideration the protection and improvement of the human environment.

Selenic Resigns Presidency of Writers Association

LD0501093390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0314 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 5 (TANJUG)—Slobodan Selenic, one of Yugoslavia's most renowned writers, resigned from the post of president of the Yugoslav Writers' Association on Thursday.

The reason for the resignation, as Selenic explained in a letter to the collective Yugoslav writers' leadership, is the organization's inability to convene and hold its annual assembly. The assembly was cancelled twice after the republican writers' organizations of Macedonia, Slovenia and Croatia said they would not participate in it.

Major confrontations erupted between the three republican associations and the Association of Serbian Writers regarding views on the present problems of the Yugoslav crisis and the province of Kosovo (within the republic of Serbia) where Albanian separatists have been active. In these confrontations, writers' associations mostly supported the stands of their republican leaderships.

Selenic explained that he accepted the post of president a year ago in the hope that the Writers' Association would be able to rise above the republican-provincial quarrels, but that his hopes have been betrayed.

Drug Pushers Sentenced in Macedonia

AU1001101990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Dec 89 p 16

[S. Marjanov report: "Drug Smugglers Sentenced"]

[Text] Stip, 26 Dec—Today the criminal bench of the Stip District Court (presided over by Judge Trajce Butnevski) sentenced eight smugglers of opium and morphine for the illegal production and trafficking of drugs.

Earlier this year, Vidan Dimitrov, a worker in the Kocani Secretariat for Internal Affairs, attempted to sell about 10 kg of opium and 800 grams of morphine, which he hid in the Secretariat's store, through Bore Georgijevski and Borko Petrovski, also from Kocani. Georgijevski and Petrovski were introduced to Slobodan Stanculovic, from Krusevac, by Mirko Atanasovski, from Vinica, and Zoran Petkovic, from the Krusevac area. Slobodan Stanculovic and his friends from France bought 10 kg of opium for DM50,000. Dimitrov, Georgijevski, and Petrovski shared the money. After that, Bore Georgijevski and Borko Petrovski tried to sell through Mladen Stamenkovski and Stojance Nikolovski, from Makedonska Kamenica, morphine worth DM 95,000, but in doing so they were arrested.

The first accused, Vidan Dimitrov, was sentenced to 6 years, Bore Georgijevski to 4 and ½ years, Borko Petkovski to 4 years, Slobodan Stanculovic to 3 years, Mirko Atanasovski and Zoran Petkovic to 1 and ½ years each, and Mladen Stamenkovski and Stojance Nikolovski to 1 year each.